

THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
BENGAL.

EDITED BY

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OF PARIS; COR. MEM. OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOC. OF LONDON, AND OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETIES OF MARSEILLES AND CAEN; OF THE ACADEMY
OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA, &c.

VOL. V.

JANUARY TO DECEMBER,
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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science, in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and will die away, if they shall entirely cease."

SIR WM. JONES.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

No. 51.—*March*, 1836.

I.—*Memoir of the Life and Writings of St. NIERSES CLAJENSIS, surnamed the Graceful, Pontiff of Armenia.* By JOHANNES AVDALL.

[Submitted to the Asiatic Society, 1st May, 1829*.]

At a period when Armenia was labouring under the lamentable effects of intestine broils and foreign invasions ; when she was subjected to the ruinous consequences of dissensions that existed between the leaders of the Armenian and Greek Churches, when tyranny and persecution of the most violent kind strode hand in hand in her territories, Providence deemed it necessary, out of sympathy for the sufferings of human beings, to raise up a person, who, by a happy combination of the qualities of a great mind, with those of a good heart, might be a proper instrument of knitting more closely man to man, and of removing disturbances from the Church of Christ, whose very essence is formed of love, meekness, and peace.

The individual, in whom the illustrious subject of this Memoir found a father, was called APIRAT, a prince famed for uncommon bravery and glorious achievements, who flourished in Armenia near the close of the eleventh century. He claimed his origin from the Pehlavic race, and had the happiness of perpetuating his memory by giving birth to four sons, known under the appellations of BASIL, SHAHAN, GREGORY,

* This paper was handed to us by a Member of the Committee of Papers of the Asiatic Society for 1829, on his departure for the Cape. It had been unfortunately mislaid among his papers. Although, (as the author's presentation letter says,) "it is not of a scientific nature, and consequently little adapted to the taste of the present age," still, considering that it is descriptive of the public acts of the greatest author and divine that flourished in Asia in the middle of the 12th century, and illustrative of the religious differences that separate the Church of Armenia from that of Greece, it cannot fail to interest many of our readers.—ED.

and NIERSES. The latter was born in the year 1100, in the castle of ZOVS, which was the hereditary property of APIRAT. Allied by the ties of consanguinity to GREGORY VIKAYASER*, who then wielded the pontifical sceptre in Armenia, APIRAT entrusted to him the education of GREGORY and NIERSES, who were, by the direction of their guardian, admitted into the monastery raised on the summit of the Black Mountain. GREGORY VIKAYASER, when he had attained to a good old age, was by the repeated solicitations of the prince BASIL the Sly, and his illustrious lady, induced to change the place of his residence, and spend the remainder of his days near them, at Rapan, situated in the vicinity of the city of Cheson. On his departure from the monastery of the Black Mountain, he took with him his wards, GREGORY and NIERSES, having entertained favourable anticipations of their future greatness and celebrity. Some time after his having eventually settled in the Red Convent, near Cheson, perceiving that his career was daily drawing to a close, he sent for PARSICK, whom he had previously nominated his successor, and for BASIL the Sly, to whose kind care and protection he intrusted the lads GREGORY and NIERSES, the former being of the age of about 13 years, and the latter only 10 years, old. He also added, in the presence of those by whom he was surrounded, that, agreeably to his nomination, PARSICK should immediately after his death be invested with the pontifical authority of Armenia. On the elevation of the latter to that high station, he began to shew the greatest regard for the welfare and education of his wards, GREGORY and NIERSES, and accordingly placed them under the superintendence of Bishop STEPHEN, a divine of high attainments and profound erudition, in order, that they might by his immediate tuition be instructed in theology and the literature of the west. GREGORY and NIERSES continued to proceed in their education with two other fellow scholars, named SARKIES† and IGNATIUS, whose valuable productions have perpetuated their fame in the recollection of posterity.

* Vikayaser (Վիկայասեր) is the compound of Վիկա martyr, and սեր love, signifying *lover of martyrs*, which is an epithet given to GREGORY in consequence of the extreme veneration which he displayed for the memory of martyrs, and the great avidity with which he translated their lives from the Greek and Syriac languages.

† These two worthies are peculiarly distinguished among the divines, who flourished in Armenia in the twelfth century. At the special desire of the pontiff GREGORY, IGNATIUS wrote a commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke, which is held in general admiration for the perspicuity of its style and the sensible observations with which it abounds. SARKIES claims an equal share of veneration from his countrymen for his valuable productions, which have been handed down to us. They consist of Commentaries on the seven General Epistles, on

PARSICK having established the seat of his pontificate at the desert of Shughr, in the vicinage of Cheson, felt great interest in frequently visiting the Red Convent, in order that his occasional presence might enhance the utility and efficiency of the institution. Two years after this, considering that the qualifications and good conduct of GREGORY were worthy of sacerdotal dignity, PARSICK conferred on him the order of priesthood, when he had just attained the age of 15 years. Removed from the Red Convent, GREGORY remained with PARSICK in the pontifical house, where the latter with paternal care and exertions instilled into the mind of the former such principles of virtuous habits and sound doctrine, as might befit him for the high office which he was destined to fill.

Having enjoyed the pontifical authority for about eight years, PARSICK was cut off by sudden death. Before, however, this melancholy event, he summoned the dignitaries of the church of Armenia, as well as some of the nobility of the country, and in their presence, nominated his ward GREGORY as successor to the pontificate, presenting him with his pontifical robes and sceptre. Accordingly, the bishops and clergy of the nation having assembled in the Red Convent, anointed GREGORY with great honors Pontiff of all Armenia. Though of the age of twenty years only, the mental and moral qualities of GREGORY peculiarly adapted him for the responsibility of the high situation.

GREGORY having, by new improvements, strongly fortified the castle of Zovs, which had devolved on him after the death of his father, removed thither the seat of his spiritual government. After the lapse of several years, NIERSES, at the particular desire of his brother GREGORY, quitted his monastic seclusion, and entered into clerical orders. During the ceremonies of his ordination, the pontiff GREGORY bestowed on him the appellation of NIERSES, in veneration of the memory of NIERSES the Great*, who was of Parthian and Pehlavic extraction. By what name he was originally designated, no mention is made in the works of any of our historians. His profound learning and exemplary virtues soon raised him to the high dignity of a bishop, in whose capacity he was from time to time sent by the pontiff on visitations to the most populous provinces of Armenia, for the purpose of enlightening the minds of the ignorant, and pouring the balm of comfort into the hearts of the afflicted. Wherever he visited, his footsteps were marked with

the Prayers of St. GREGORIUS NAREKENSIS, and on the Prophecy of ISAIAH. That of the General Epistles was published in Constantinople in the year 1744; but those of the two latter have not as yet been discovered.

* For particulars of the life of NIERSES the Great, vide my translation of the History of Armenia, vol. i. page 181.

national improvements and spiritual good. By his peculiarly mild temper and upright principles, he was held in general estimation, and considered a very valuable member of the fraternity to which he belonged.

At this period, it must be recollected, the city of Antioch was in the possession of the Latins, who found it necessary to convene a general assembly for the purpose of taking into consideration some heavy charges that were preferred against RODOLPH, the Archbishop of that city, to his holiness INNOCENT the Second. Being deservedly distinguished among foreigners for the intense zeal they displayed both in the cause of Christianity and humanity, the pontiff of Armenia and his brother NIERSES were invited to become participators in the proceedings of the council. They met with a very honourable reception from the Latins, whose admiration of the graceful tone of their conversation could only be equalled by the surprise with which they caught every sentiment which fell from the lips of those bright ornaments of the Armenian church. On the conclusion of the meeting, which led to the deposition of RODOLPH from his episcopal dignity, the pontiff GREGORY went on a pilgrimage to the city of Jerusalem, and his brother NIERSES having returned to the castle of Zovs, performed the duties of a proxy during the absence of his brother from the seat of his pontificate.

Dissensions now arose among the Armenians and Syrians residing in some part of Mesopotamia, through the dissemination of the heretical doctrines of the Thondrakian sect*, which were calculated to mislead the simple and the illiterate. THULKURAN, an Armenian nobleman, eminently distinguished for his exemplary piety and benevolence, viewed the progress of these heresies with great apprehensions for the safety of the established Church of Armenia, and in consequence, endeavoured to check the evil, by communicating the state of things to the pontiff GREGORY, and soliciting him to take measures for effectually exterminating the sect. The latter, after giving the subject due consideration, communicated with his brother NIERSES on the best way of pro-

* The founder of this sect was an Armenian by the name of SUMBAT, who flourished in Armenia in the beginning of the ninth century. He was born in Zarehavan, a village situated in the province of Zalcotin; but in consequence of his long residence in Thondrak, he received the appellation of Thondrakensis, and his followers were known by that of Thondrakians. His mind was imbued with the heretical principles of the Paulicians, and the whole course of his life was marked with the greatest moral depravity, impiety, and wickedness. Like the Sadducees, he disbelieved the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, and in imitation of the opinions of EPICURUS denied that God was the creator and preserver of the world. He refused his assent to the creed of the graces of the Holy Ghost, the efficacy of the Sacraments of the Church, and the existence of sin, laws, and justice.

tecting the Church from the impending danger, and imposed upon him the task of addressing a general letter to the Armenian inhabitants of Mesopotamia, descriptive of the confession of the orthodox faith of the Armenian Church, and contradictory of the heterodox opinions of the Thondrakians. NIERSES performed the injunctions of his brother in such a successful manner, as to silence those who were inimically disposed towards the Church, and to restore peace and unanimity amongst the community of that place.

In the year 1142, the Grecian emperor JOHANNES PORPHYRIGENITUS led a considerable army into the country of Cilicia, in order to put down the power of the Scythians, which had already begun to assume a formidable appearance in that quarter. During his short stay in the city of Anarzaba, the emperor expressed a desire of having an interview with the Armenian pontiff GREGORY and his brother NIERSES. On their being presented to the emperor, they met with a kind reception, and were seated next to his imperial majesty. A conversation then ensued relative to the doctrines and ceremonies of the Armenian Church, and the sound judgment with which they answered the interrogations of the emperor, excited his regard and admiration. This afforded him a favourable opportunity of acquiring a correct notion of the state of the Armenian Church, and of removing from his mind that unjust prejudice with which he was in the habit of viewing the Armenians. The example of their monarch was soon followed by the majority of the people, who began to relax in the persecution with which they afflicted a nation whom by a common faith they ought to have protected from similar cruelties, when inflicted by the unbelieving Musulmáns.

Apprehensive, through the perturbed state of the country, of an attack upon his paternal castle of Zovs by foreign invaders, the pontiff GREGORY consulted his safety by quitting the place of his residence, and fixing the seat of his pontificate in the fortress of Hiromcla. Built on the confluence of the rivers Marzman and Euphrates, and strongly fortified by nature, Hiromcla proved an insuperable bar against an invasion. Formerly it was in the possession of the prince BASIL the Sly, and now it was under the control of the countess JOSCELYN. The pontiff GREGORY and his brother NIERSES met with a very hospitable reception from this illustrious lady, who felt the greatest delight in rendering their situation comfortable, and was exceedingly pleased with their charming and edifying conversation.

On the decease of her husband, who had been seized by NOURED-DIN*, the chief of Aleppo, and who died in confinement, the dowager countess JOSCELYN thought it safe to quit Hiromcla for Europe.

* MILLS's History of the Crusades, vol. i. p. 309.

Previously, however, to her departure, she made over the management of the fortress to the pontiff GREGORY and his brother NIERSES on the following condition: "I am about to quit this place," said she, "and proceed to my country. I leave this fortress as a trust in your hands, with a desire that in case my son happen to come to this quarter, you shall deliver it over to him as his patrimonial property; but if otherwise, you shall be entitled to its possession." On the arrival of young JOSCELYN in Hiromcla, he was made master of it in conformity with the desire of his mother. After a short residence in this place, JOSCELYN determined to quit it for Europe. In consequence of this intention, the fortress was sold to the Armenian pontiff GREGORY, who, according to the historians VARDAN and KIRAKUS, established in it the seat of his pontifical government, and raised there a very magnificent Church, embellished with splendid cupolas.

About the year 1165, when GREGORY had attained to a good old age, and enjoyed the pontifical office for a period of 53 years, he began to be solicitous for the nomination of a successor. He expressed a desire of conferring that spiritual dignity on his brother NIERSES, who was also past the meridian of life. The latter, though the offer was several times made to him by GREGORY, was unwilling to accept it. Finally, anticipating the approach of his death, GREGORY ordered a general meeting of all the Armenian bishops, monks, and priests to be held in the pontifical house at Hiromcla, for the purpose of considering the best mode of nominating a successor to the pontificate. In this assembly, after making an impressive speech on the approaching termination of his career, and the necessity of electing a successor worthy of the high station which he filled, he expressed his choice of investing his brother NIERSES with the pontifical authority, which proposition met with the unanimous and cordial approbation of the audience. NIERSES, who had made up his mind to exchange the troubles of a busy life for the sweets of solitude, in vain endeavoured to decline the offer of that responsible situation. Overcome by the repeated solicitations of the assembly, he was at last obliged to accept the office of the pontificate, with a view of promoting the general welfare of the nation. Immediately after this, GREGORY anointed NIERSES pontiff of all Armenia, and adorned him with the pontifical robes. He placed in his hand the sceptre of authority, and saluted him with the greatest reverence and submission as the head of the Church. When the ceremonies of the election were over, NIERSES rose and delivered a most excellent speech, expressive of his acknowledgments for the high honor that had been conferred on him, and descriptive of the nature of the responsible duties which he was bound to perform in the spiritual dignity to which he

was elevated. By this oration the audience were not only assured of the zeal and interest which he would feel for the welfare of his flock, but were also struck with a forcible conviction of the goodness of the heart and the grandeur of the mind, from which these graceful sentiments emanated. It was owing to a peculiarly sweet tone of his expressions, and a remarkably fascinating flow of the sentiments of his inspired mind, that he was distinguished by the appellation of the Graceful, *Շնորհալի*, as he was latterly known by the cognomen of CLAJENSIS, *Կլայի* in consequence of exercising the functions of his sacerdotal office in the fortress of Hiromcla. About three months after the election of NIERSES, his brother GREGORY departed this life *Anno Domini* 1166, and was entombed in a sepulchre prepared during his life time.

Soon after the death of his brother, NIERSES, the pontiff, set about improving the state of the churches, and promoting the spiritual welfare of his flock. And as the Armenians in that time, like those in our days, were dispersed in various parts of the globe, that is to say, in the territories of Armenia, in Greece, Persia, Georgia, Aluans, Egypt, and other quarters, he found it essentially necessary to extend spiritual comforts even to his distant congregation, by sending to them pious and able missionaries, for the purpose of curing the wounds of the afflicted, and enlightening the minds of the ignorant. Not contented with the good that was likely to result from the zealous exertions of these preachers of the gospel, he, at the early part of his pontificate, and by the unanimous consent of his bishops, addressed a general epistle at great length to the people of his Church, which was couched in sentiments full of heavenly wisdom*. In this letter, after mentioning the death of his brother GREGORY, and taking a short view of the relative duties imposed upon him by his being elevated to the pontifical throne, he states the orthodox creed of the Church of Armenia, which is immediately followed by preceptive exhortations best adapted to persons of every age and rank. The letter itself is divided into different sections, the first of which is directed to conventuals, who are assimilated to the stars; the second, to the primates of monasteries, who are compared to the eyes; the third, to the bishops, who are likened to the head, countenance, and stewards; the fourth, to the priests, who are made to resemble parents; the fifth, to the nobility; the sixth, to the military order; the seventh, to the citizens; the eighth, to the husbandmen and peasantry; and the ninth, to the female sex in general. The immediate object of the writer was to excite a love of virtue and piety amongst his congregation, and to be instrumental in eradicating from their

* This pastoral epistle was published in Venice with a Latin translation in the year 1829.

minds such unwholesome principles, as are calculated to render human nature waste and deformed. There are also extant several epistles written by NIERSES to different individuals, about matters temporal and spiritual, amongst which his correspondence with the authorities of Greece, relative to the contemplated union of the Greek and Armenian Churches, claims pre-eminence. Of this I shall have occasion to give a detailed account in the following pages :

The attention of NIERSES the Graceful was chiefly engrossed by a fervent desire of introducing various useful plans of improvement into the Church of Armenia. He succeeded in his endeavours of reforming it from the remnants of those irregularities, which were some of the baleful consequences of foreign invasions, and which were still predominant in several parts of Armenia. He strove with great vigilance to restore to the Church that splendour, which it enjoyed during the glorious reign of the Christian kings of Armenia. He ordered old copies of the Prayer Book of the Armenian Church to be brought to him from various distinguished monasteries of Armenia major, and by a careful comparison of their contents, he modelled the liturgy with considerable improvements, which is to this day in general use amongst all the Armenians. He made several additions to the Prayers that were read on Good Friday and the Pentecost. According to the authority of ՄԱՌԻՏԻԱՆ, the pontiff, it appears that up to the time of NIERSES the Graceful, the Church of Armenia performed the ordination of priests and bishops conformably to the custom and ceremonies of the Greek Church ; but NIERSES, on his elevation to the pontifical throne, adopted a new mode of ordination, not materially different from those of the sister Churches.

Prior to the beginning of the twelfth century, poetry was a perfect blank in Armenian literature. Though metrical pieces and songs can be traced in our history to have been repeated and sung by the Armenians in different periods, yet no record is handed down to us as to the existence of regular poetry in the Armenian language. According to a faithful writer* of that time, great credit is due to NIERSES the

* NIERSES LAMBRONENSIS, a contemporary and relation of NIERSES the Graceful, pays a handsome and just tribute to his genius, learning, and virtues in a poetical panegyric which he composed on him shortly after his death. In alluding to the honor due to him for his being the first who introduced poetry into the Armenian language, the panegyrist writes thus :

Համբարձան տաղից չափող.	“ Who first with grace Homeric numbers strung,
Ուտանաւ որ տառից գառող.	And touchingly in fair Armenia sung,
’ի հոգեւորան զնշն տառող.	His verses soothe and elevate the soul,
Որով զսիրտս կարծըր շմլօղ.	And bend our stubborn hearts to their control.”

Graceful as the first poetic writer in Armenia, whose talented productions have deservedly gained him the title of the Prince of Armenian Poets. Gifted by nature with a great genius, NERSSES devoted his leisure to the composition of melodies, anthems, and hymns, which are to this day sung in our Church to the admiration of all. Some of these poetical pieces are acrostic, the first letters of the stanzas composing the name of the author or the entire alphabet of the Armenian language. He also wrote several treatises and panegyrics, both in prose and verse, on dominical feasts, patriarchs, martyrs, and angels. During the days of his priesthood, he composed a brief history of Armenia in verse, from the period of HAIC to the twelfth century. A variety of miscellaneous pieces are also extant by this author, several of which he wrote before his elevation to the pontifical throne. At the express desire of his nephew APIRAT, he produced in verse a pathetic Elegy on the destruction of the devoted city of Edessa by the victorious army of ZENGHI, the chief of Aleppo, which memorable event took place on the 23rd of December, 1144*. This little work, which abounds with vivid descriptions and patriotic feelings, was for the first time published at Madras in the year 1810. Another edition of it was lately published by the Asiatic Society of Paris. The European public may shortly expect an English translation of it, which I have undertaken to execute†. On his being raised to the dignity of a bishop NERSSES produced another excellent work entitled ՅԵՐ յԵՐԻՔՔ "Jesus the Son‡," which is a poetical description of the principal events that are recorded in the Old and New Testaments. During this time he composed that admirable prayer which commences with "I confess with faith," Հայրապետի խոնարհութիւնս, and which is now so popular amongst the generality of the Armenians. It consists of twenty-four verses, typical of the twenty-four hours of the day, and the number of the books of prophecy. Regarding this prayer, the author says in the records of old manuscripts, "I have written this in a plain and easy style, that it should be intelligible to general readers." It is held in such great estimation by my countrymen, that a translation of it into twenty-four languages was published in the year 1823 by the Mukhi-tharian Society in Venice! NERSSES was not unaware of the benefit of combining *utile dulci* in the variety of his literary productions. He

* MILLS's History of the Crusades, vol. i. p. 307.

† The Armenian text was published at Calcutta in 1832. The translation has not yet appeared.—ED.

‡ This work is very popular with the Armenian literati, and has run through several editions, the latest of which was published at Venice in the year 1830.

wrote several entertaining fables and pleasing enigmas, with a view of affording to his countrymen a source of innocent pleasure of the mind. Besides those already enumerated, he produced several other little works, which, like many valuable antiquities, have not escaped the devouring jaws of time.

The fame of the sanctity and wisdom of NIERSES the Graceful having spread through various countries of the globe, many distinguished individuals addressed him letters comprising questions on the most difficult points of religion, which he answered with such skill as to carry conviction to the mind of every reasonable being. At the special desire of VARDAN, one of the venerable monks of the convent of Haghbat, he undertook writing a commentary of a sublime panegyric on the Holy Cross, the production of David the philosopher, distinguished by the cognomen of the Invincible. When the work was completed and presented to VARDAN, he highly admired the profound learning and the inspired sentiments with which it abounded. There are also a few philosophical treatises extant in our language, which some of our historians attribute to the pen of this bright luminary of the Armenian Church.

Great intimacy existed between NIERSES and GEORGIUS, primate of the convent of Haghbat, who was eminently distinguished for his piety and rectitude of conduct. The latter, who held a constant communication with the former, solicited him in a letter to use his endeavours to procure a copy of the Memoirs of St. SARKIS the General. NIERSES succeeded in obtaining the work, which was written in the Syrian language. He ordered it to be translated into Armenian by a Syrian priest, named MICHAEL, who was tolerably conversant with the Armenian language. This translation was subsequently revised by NIERSES in the year 1156, while he was a bishop. A copy of this work, written in Hiromcla, in the year 1198, about twenty-five years after the death of NIERSES, is preserved in the library of the Mukhitharian Society at Venice. Annexed to this work, which appears to have been transcribed from the manuscript of NIERSES himself, is a commentary of the general Epistles of St. JAMES, St. PETER, St. JOHN, and St. JUDE, written in a concise and comprehensive style, and compiled from the works of Greek and Syriac theologians, whose names are specified. But who was the compiler of this work is not known, as no mention is made of him in the old records. In another copy of the same, which was written in the year 1335 at the convent of St. THADDEUS, situated in the province of Artaz, the compilation of the work is attributed by the transcriber to NIERSES. This is, however, a mere conjecture, for it can be clearly perceived from the style that it is not the production of

NIERSES. Perhaps a transcript made by him from the original was left in the pontifical house at Hiromcla.

In the evening of his life, NIERSES commenced writing a commentary on the Gospel of St. MATTHEW. He had performed it as far as "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil," when the termination of his earthly career put a stop to its completion. After the lapse of a considerable time, it was finished by JOHANNES ZORZERENSIS. There is another work by the talented NIERSES, which was intended as a guide for monastic life, and which he wrote while he enjoyed the dignity of priesthood. The profound learning which characterises his writings, the peculiarly beautiful style in which they are composed, and the divine spirit of benevolence which pervades every page of his compositions, are convincing proofs that the author of them was endowed with a mind of most extraordinary powers, and filled with divine inspiration. His voluminous lucubrations, which have been handed down to us by the unanimous applause of past generations, are highly creditable both to his head and heart as a man, a patriot, a divine, and a philosopher. Few can rise from the perusal of his works without being moved by feelings of reverence and admiration for the greatness of the mind from which they have emanated. NIERSES LAMBRONENSIS, the grandson of General SHAHAN, the brother of NIERSES the Graceful, who was one of his distinguished contemporaries, and had many opportunities of personally experiencing his mental and moral qualities, pays a just tribute to the memory of this paragon of learning in a poetical panegyric which minutely treats of the many amiable virtues with which he was adorned. The panegyrist properly dwells on the meritorious exertions, which NIERSES the Graceful made to promote the public good, on his exemplary piety and devotion, his rigid and abstemious habits, his continual studies and philosophical reflections, and the warm sympathies with which his heart glowed in relieving the distress of the poor, the orphan, the widow, the sick, the captive, and others who were doomed to suffer miseries and calamities.

During the pontificate of NIERSES the Graceful, there still appeared in some parts of Armenia remnants of a peculiar tribe of Armenians, known under the appellation of Արևորդիք AREVORDIES*, (the Sons of

* This people had probably derived their mode of worship from the ancient Persians, and perfectly agreed in the tenets of the Guebres of the present day. They adhered to the doctrines of ZERDASHT or ZOROASTER, who considered the sun as the grand receptacle of fire, and placed the existence of the Deity in the fiery element spread over all the universe.

the Sun,) who had continued in their ancestral superstitions, and not deviated from paying homage to the sun since the days of GREGORY the Illuminator, the second Apostle of Armenia. Through the zealous exertions of the Armenian missionaries, whom the pontiff NIERSES sent to different quarters of the country, the darkness of paganism, that had so long overhung the heads of these unbelievers, gradually began to vanish, and after the lapse of a few years, the whole of that tribe embraced Christianity, and were admitted into the fellowship of the Church of Armenia.

Contemporary with NIERSES the Graceful, there was in Armenia MUKHITHAR, an assiduous follower of ÆSCULAPIUS, and eminently distinguished for his Medical and Astronomical knowledge. He had the gratification of cultivating the friendship of NIERSES, from whose conversation he derived the greatest delight and spiritual comfort. At the particular request of this celebrated naturalist, NIERSES wrote a beautiful poem, descriptive of the beauties and excellencies of heavenly bodies. He added to it another small poem on the Creation of the World, and the mystery of the incarnation of our Saviour*. The latter is acrostic, the first letters of the verses of it composing this sentence Մի թափար բոխիչ է ընկած 'ի ներսեմէ զայս բան: "Doctor MUKHITHAR, accept from NIERSES this poem!" I hope it will not be considered here out of place to say, that this learned physician has left a very valuable work on Medicine, which is replete with wise observations and useful experiments. It was composed during the time, and by the desire, of GREGORY the pontiff, the successor of NIERSES the Graceful†.

One of the most remarkable actions that marked the earthly career of NIERSES the Graceful, was the contemplated union of the Armenian and Greek Churches. This desirable object, which originated from a most unexpected event, was undertaken during the life time of his brother GREGORY, the pontiff, and prior to his being invested with the supremacy of the Church of Armenia. But alas for the peace of Christianity! before the laudable undertaking was carried into execution, both Armenia and Greece were unexpectedly deprived of the only instruments by which such a happy change possibly could have been effected!

During the last days of the pontificate of GREGORY, dissensions arose between the two Armenian princes, THOROSE the Great Panse-

* These two little poems are also published in conjunction with the work called 'Jesus the Son.'

† This rare Manuscript work was discovered in the Royal Library of Paris, and published in Venice two years ago.

bastus and Lord of Cilicia, and OSHIN the Sebastus and Lord of Lambron. The reason of this unfortunate difference was, that the former insisted upon the latter to profess obedience to himself, and to decline becoming tributary to the Greeks, while OSHIN thought it safer to continue his allegiance to the Greek emperor, than to acknowledge the ascendancy of THOROSE. Blinded by selfishness, and provoked by mutual resistance, they were at last necessitated to have recourse to an appeal to arms, which was attended with fatal consequences to both parties.

The pontiff GREGORY, viewing these unfortunate circumstances with a spirit of national sympathy, imposed upon his brother NIERSES the task of effecting a reconciliation between the two princes by his mild and fascinating address. NIERSES succeeded in his endeavours of restoring to them peace and friendship, which were soon after followed by a happy alliance between them, THOROSE marrying his daughter to HETHUM, the son of OSHIN. On the celebration of this marriage, OSHIN desired NIERSES to accompany him to Lambron, with a view that its inhabitants might be benefitted by his edifying instructions and evangelical discourses. During their journey they had occasion to enter the city of Mamestia, which was then in the possession of the Greeks. Here they met ALEXIUS, the protostrator or generalissimo of the Greek army, who was the son-in-law of the emperor MANUEL, and had come thither with the design of visiting the frontiers that belonged to the Grecian empire. On his first interview with NIERSES the Graceful, ALEXIUS was struck with admiration by the grace and learning which pervaded every part of his conversation. One day religion being the topic of their conference, ALEXIUS expressed a desire of being furnished with information as to the cause of the division of the Church of Christ into so many doctrinal opinions. The promptitude with which NIERSES answered every question that was put to him, created in ALEXIUS a deep sense of veneration for him as an erudite divine, and left no appearance of doubt in his arguments. NIERSES convinced him that the difference of opinions between the Christian Churches merely existed in words and forms, and assured him that the creed of the Armenian Church was consonant to that of the Church of Greece.

ALEXIUS desired NIERSES to commit the whole of their conversation to writing, which he promised to present to the emperor, and to exert every nerve in effecting a union between the two Churches. He also proposed to him the solution of a few important points, which from their intricate nature had created a difference of opinion between the divines of the Greek Church.

NIERSES accepted the proposition with great interest, and accordingly wrote an epistle to him full of sound doctrine and incontrovertible proofs. He commenced the latter by saying, "I was extremely delighted by the opportunity of holding a conference with you, O philanthropic and pious nobleman, respecting the doctrines and forms of the Armenian Church! But as sentiments embodied by human utterance are liable to be effaced from the tablets of memory, by the lapse of time, by reason of the cessation of our remembrance, I do not hesitate to furnish you with a written account of all that you were pleased to hear from me. I shall endeavour to perform my task with as much propriety and precision, as my time and abilities will admit of. Encouraged by the love of knowledge, with which you are distinguished, I feel no small alleviation in the execution of my difficult undertaking. It may not be perhaps superfluous to add, that all my arguments are drawn from that pure source of religious truth, for which our divine fathers of old are so deservedly characterised."

This preamble is immediately followed by an orthodox confession of the Holy Trinity, and of the incarnation of our blessed Saviour. It is here asserted, that the Church of Armenia admits the duality of nature in Christ, and that the Armenians by the term "one nature," acknowledge by implication an unconfounded union of the divinity and human nature of our Saviour. It is also added that the Armenian Church, according to old customs, commemorates the nativity of our Saviour on the 6th of January, and that it is a gross fabrication that the Armenians observe the Annunciation day on the preceding day of the Epiphany. That in consequence of a want of olives, the Armenians make preparation of unction by the oil of odorous flowers. That they pay due reverence to pictures. That in constructing crosses of wood, nails are with no other intention affixed to them than with that of joining the parts together; while those made of silver and gold are without nails. That the prayer Յուրբ Յի "Holy God*," is offered in the Armenian Church to Jesus Christ, and not to the Father, or the Holy Ghost. That the custom of partaking of milk, butter, and cheese, on

* About half an hour previously to the commencement of high mass, the following short prayer is addressed to the Son in the Armenian Church: Յուրբ Յի, սուրբ և հզոր, սուրբ և անհաճ, որ խաչեցար զան մեր, ողորմեա մեզ: "Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal; who wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us." An erroneous impression had been made on the minds of the Greeks, that this prayer was indiscriminately addressed to either of the persons of the Holy Trinity, and by this conviction, they traced a fundamental error in the doctrines of the Armenian Church.

Saturdays and Sundays during the lent, has now become obsolete amongst the Armenian people, and though it is still continued by a few of the nobility, its entire abandonment will be effected in a short time. That the custom of using pure wine, unmixed by water, in the Holy Communion, has obtained in the Armenian Church since the days of the blessed GREGORY the Illuminator. Finally, the writer explains the nature of the abdominal fasting, which is observed by the Armenians a few weeks before the commencement of the Lent.

ALEXIUS, on receiving from NIERSES the foregoing epistle, expressed his grateful acknowledgments for the same, and permitted him to take his departure for Lambron, after having bestowed on him every mark of honor suitable to his rank and office. NIERSES having remained in the latter place for a short time, quitted it for Hiromcla, where he met his brother GREGORY, the pontiff, and related to him every particular of the communication that had passed between him and the Grecian generalissimo ALEXIUS.

On the fulfilment of the immediate object of the letter of NIERSES the Graceful, on its being put into the hands of the emperor MANUEL, and the patriarch MICHAEL, they immediately ordered it to be translated into Greek, and felt great satisfaction at the opportunity that had offered itself of effecting a union between the Greek and Armenian Churches. The perusal of the translation filled their minds with admiration of the mild spirit and rare talents of the writer, and afforded them encouragement to carry the contemplated scheme into execution. Hereupon the emperor sent a deputation to Armenia, consisting of SUMBAT and ARUKH, both of Armenian extraction, with a letter to GREGORY the pontiff, dated September, 1167, expressive of his earnest desire of seeing the consummation of the happy union which was in contemplation. In order to proceed in this undertaking with facility and success, he wished that NIERSES the Graceful should be sent to Constantinople, thinking that the presence of both parties might in a great degree be conducive to an amicable settlement of the existing differences. The following is a copy of the letter in question :

“ MANUEL COMNENUS PORPHYRIGENITUS, ever mighty and great, Augustus, emperor of Greece, and faithful king of God Jesus Christ, to his holiness Lord GREGORY, the excellent pontiff of Armenia, sendeth love and greeting. It is the imperative duty of all those, who by the medium of the baptismal font have entered into the fellowship of Christ, to have due regard for the fulfilment of divine justice, and to display special care and zeal for the advancement of love, peace, and unanimity amongst that class of people, who have Christ as the foundation of their religion. They are bound to use their unremitting endeavours to knit all the Christians with the bonds of union ; to make them followers of one shepherd, who became incarnate to save us from perdition, to bring them under

the guidance of one pastoral crook ; to cause them to 'lie down in green pastures' of orthodox faith ; to render them participators of the vital stream of wholesome doctrines, and to gather them within the pale of one Catholic Church. Elevated by Providence to the highest station that can be allotted here to a human being, I consider the duties of governing my empire less sacred, less beneficial, than those which oblige me to be instrumental in effecting an union of the Christian Churches. Impressed with this conviction, I shall, as far as time and circumstances will permit, strive to consummate an object, which involves the temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind.

"It is not less becoming to your excellent fraternity, who have made the scriptures and the laws of God your chief studies, and rendered yourselves conversant with the orthodox doctrines of the fathers of the Church, to use your friendly and influential co-operation in securing the welfare of the inward man, by collecting from the only source of life the dews of truth and salvation. Of your desire to promote this laudable object, we have been informed by our beloved son-in-law ALEXIUS, who delivered to us a letter bearing a detailed account of the conference that had taken place between you and him concerning the contemplated union of the sister Churches. It is our intention to give due deliberation to the state of the Armenian Church, and to institute inquiries into the creed thereof. A translation of the letter of your holiness was read by us with uncommon interest, and afforded us a source of the greatest satisfaction. Assured of the moral and Christian virtues, for which your holiness is so eminently distinguished, we feel real pleasure in rendering our aid to the consummation of an object highly desirable both to God and man.

"With this view we would propose to you to dispatch your brother NIERSES to our capital, as we are perfectly convinced that a man of his extensive information, varied knowledge, virtuous conduct, and amiable disposition, will not only be able to afford satisfaction to the Head of our Church, and the synod in general, but particularly tend to remove the difficulties which will otherwise be experienced from time and place. Let the insignificant cause of division, which subsists between the two Churches, be removed if it be within the scope of possibility ; and let not Christ, who redeemed us from eternal punishment by his precious blood, be considered a stumbling block, but the Head of the corner and the True Foundation of our faith, which unites us together in spirit. Let Christ be the centre of all our religious inquiries, the Anchor of all our spiritual aspirations, and the Director of all our ecclesiastical affairs. In him we founded our belief, to him our hearts were fixed, and by him our wounds were healed. From the Great Bestower of so many blessings you will no doubt obtain for your zeal in the sacred cause of Christianity that recompence which is reserved for the enjoyment of the elect. We have thought it necessary to depute our faithful servant SUMBAT, bearing this letter, with directions to induce you to despatch your brother NIERSES to Constantinople. He is also authorised to give you such other information, as might have a connexion with the immediate object of his mission. You may safely credit all that will be said by him on this subject. Adieu !"

While preparations were in progress at the capital of Greece for despatching the embassy to Armenia, the pontiff GREGORY terminated his earthly career. The Church of Syria was also at the same time

deprived of its supreme pastor, whose station was immediately filled by an able and worthy successor. News of the proposed union of the sister Churches having spread throughout the Christian countries which held a close intercourse with Armenia, the patriarch of Syria deputed two learned bishops to Hiromcla, for the purpose of taking a part in the proceedings of the council, which was shortly to be held by NIERSES the Graceful, for furthering the views of the intended union.

On the arrival of the embassy at Hiromcla, SUMBAT delivered the imperial letter to NIERSES the pontiff, communicating to him many interesting particulars on the part of the emperor, and persuading him to accompany him to Constantinople ; but the duties of his high office rendering his absence from the pontifical house indispensable at that very juncture, NIERSES sent a reply to the emperor, full of spirit and wonderful observations. As the letter itself is of great length, I shall here only give an outline of its contents :

" I had the honor to receive the letter of your Imperial Majesty, addressed to my late lamented brother and immediate predecessor in the pontificate of Armenia. By the perusal of the inspired sentiments expressed in it by your godly Majesty, our hearts thrilled with that inexpressible delight which a person feels on recovering from the influence of sleep, and enjoying the vivifying beams of the glorious orb of day. It is gratifying to us to observe, that your Majesty is worthy of not only bearing the name of the true EMMANUEL, but also of his co-operation in ' breaking down the middle wall of partition *between us.*' Endowed with these peculiar gifts of heaven, your Majesty is condescendingly pleased to accost us with a cheering voice, and propose measures for eradicating from amongst us that hatred, which has proved so baleful to the interests of Christianity, and the welfare of our country. I am so exceedingly delighted with your Majesty's invitation, that I would, even if I were dead, like LAZARUS, arise from the grave, and obey the divine voice which summons me to your presence ; but violent disturbances abroad, and the urgent duties of my avocation at home, present insuperable barriers to my paying a visit to Constantinople. Notwithstanding these obstacles, I should still feel diffident to attempt discussing a question of so much weight in your august presence, from a conviction that the sphere of my knowledge would look like a mere drop in comparison with the vast ocean of your Majesty's qualifications. All that were great and noble in Armenia, to our national misfortune, have now ceased to exist. The only comfort, with which we cheer our hearts in the melancholy gloom that overhangs our civil destinies, is derived from the circumstance of our Church being based on the solid foundation of Catholic faith. We place our confidence in the mercies of God, that the divine power which excited love and good-will amongst us, shall consummate a happy union between the two Churches.

" Should your Imperial Majesty be graciously pleased to visit Armenia, for the furtherance of this desirable object, you will, by that act of condescension, display in your soul the stamp of that humility, with which the heavenly King came to the world to bestow salvation on mankind. We are sure that you will join with us in the conviction, that the lustre of glory reflected on your mighty empire by

splendid victories, and the aggrandizement of territories, will be cheerless and evanescent when contrasted with that of restoring peace to the Church of Christ, by blunting the weapons of the incorporate enemy, and suppressing envy and hatred, which like cankers have preyed on the very vitals of our spiritual existence. Our Lord Jesus Christ, viewing the baneful consequences of pride predominant in human nature, had recourse to humility as to an infallible cure of the spiritual infirmities under which mankind were labouring; and by means of his divine love and meekness, conciliated the hearts of those who were estranged from him by the infringement of his laws and ordinances. In imitation of the example set to us by our blessed Redeemer, it behoves your Imperial Majesty to make your dictatorial authority subservient to mildness and humility, in removing the cause of estrangement that exists between the two nations. As a tree which is bent to the ground is liable to be broken by a sudden and violent effort to restore it to its upright position, so a division amongst the members of Christ, rendered obstinate by time, is incapable of being removed by force. It stands in need of a long and patient application of spiritual ointment, I mean the exercise of a kind, mild, and conciliatory spirit on the part of your Imperial Majesty towards the Armenians placed under the sway of your government.

"Many of your people, to our great national misfortune, consider that the only means of conforming to the laws and justice of God, and of being worthy of inheriting the kingdom of heaven, consist in pouring upon us torrents of abuse, in destroying our Churches, in breaking our crosses, in overturning our altars, in ridiculing our religious ceremonies, and in harassing and persecuting the ministers of our Church. This unchristian animosity is carried to such a pitch, as to shame the horrid cruelties of the worst of unbelievers. Galled and persecuted by Moslem despotism, we have hitherto in vain sought protection in the sympathies of Christianity. Hence it must be inferred, that such a course of action not only fails to unite the divided, but tends to divide the united. The first effectual recipe, that can be applied to our spiritual distempers, is to make an exchange of the inveterate hatred for human love and kindness, and as a matter of consequence, to stimulate thereby the inhabitants of Armenia major to an acquiescence in the projected union. We humbly solicit your Imperial Majesty to order special prayers to be offered up in all the Churches throughout your empire, that the Almighty may be pleased to crown our undertaking with success. We have taken care that similar measures shall be adopted by our clergy in every quarter of Armenia.

"We have also particularly to request, that in case Providence assist us in discussing matters on the intended union in a general council, no mark of distinction or superiority should be observed between the Greek and the Armenian. Let no tone of authority be assumed by the former in denoting such points of the doctrines of our Church as are not accordant with those of yours, and no fault be imputed to the latter in boldly supporting the truths and dignity of their Church. Marks of distinction are only observable in the discussion of civil and temporal affairs. It is true that you claim pre-eminence in the attainment of knowledge and the exercise of earthly power; yet all those who are strengthened by the graces of regeneration in the baptismal font, are according to St. Paul 'one in Christ Jesus.' If, therefore, it may be pleasing to the Almighty to smile on our endeavours, and to bring our undertaking to a successful termination, we shall, in the assembly to be convened for the purpose, lay Christ

as the Rock and the Head of the corner over the two sundered walls of our Churches. Let not the subject be discussed with that fruitless and violent mode of controversy, which has hitherto been carried on by the sister Churches with detrimental consequences on both sides. Let brotherly love, unanimity, and an ardour after divine truths distinguish the whole course of the proceedings of the council. Let us, in accordance with the injunctions of St. Paul, bear one another's burden, and the infirmities of the weak, and so fulfil the law of Christ.' In laying open our spiritual distempers to the observation of one another, let each party reciprocally look for, in the other, a sympathising and confidential physician. Whatever may be beyond the reach of our penetration, let it be referred to the testimony of those whose judgment and experience have rendered them distinguished in the decision of similar questions. Able physicians do not consider their qualifications under-rated by taking medicines from the hands of their scholars, when they are labouring under the attacks of sickness. The eyes, though sharp enough in seeing the objects presented to their gaze, fall short of beholding themselves and the members of the body by which they are surrounded; and on their being attacked with soreness, they seek a cure from the eyes and hands of another. What has been stated above, will, we hope, be considered sufficiently satisfactory to your Imperial Majesty. We have communicated to you *multum in parvo*, and have desired your ambassador to furnish you with such other information, as may be thought to content the ardour of your curiosity. Adieu! Augustus Emperor! May your Majesty live long under the protection of the Almighty."

At the express desire of SUMBAT, who was at the head of the embassy, NIERSES the Graceful drew out another form of the Creed of the Armenian Church, being assured that it would tend to throw more light on the disputed points of religion, and carry conviction to the mind of every philanthropic inquirer. The contents of this letter were a clear, distinct, and comprehensive recapitulation of all that he had stated in the former one, presented to ALEXIUS, the son-in-law of the emperor. The letter commenced with the following beautiful preamble:

"It now becomes us to address ourselves to you, not with eloquence of speech, in which we are deficient, but in the truth of the spirit, in which we were instructed by those favoured with divine inspiration. We do not attempt giving colour to a schismatical darkness, by clothing our Creed with the light of orthodox faith, as we have unjustly been supposed to do by others guilty of a similar line of conduct; but what we have stored in the invisible spirit, we embody the same in visible writing, by the testimony of our minds, and the dictation of the Holy Ghost, who sees, judges and examines the utmost recesses of our hearts."

After making long and sensible observations on the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and the incarnation of Jesus Christ, leaning on the incontrovertible testimonies of the Fathers of the Church, he proceeds thus:

"Concurring in the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, we believe that the word, who was made flesh according to St. JOHN, was not changed into flesh by being divested of his divine nature, but that by an unconfounded

union with body, he was actually made flesh, and continued without flesh, as he was from the beginning. We believe that there are not two persons in Christ, one with flesh and the other without flesh; but that the very Christ is both with flesh and without flesh. He was made flesh by human nature, of which he partook, and remained without flesh in divine nature, which he had from the beginning. He is both visible and invisible, perceivable and unperceivable by the touch, beginning and unbeginning in time, the Son of Man, and the Son of God, co-essential with the Father in divinity, and concomitant with us in humanity."

After taking a comprehensive view of the mystery of the incarnation of our Saviour, he dilates on His divine and human wills, and clearly demonstrates, that the will of the humanity of Christ was always and in every respect obedient to that of his divinity :

"The human will had no ascendancy over the divine, as in us the passions very often domineer over the reason; but the divine will always exercised its dominion over the human : for the actions of the human were all guided and directed by the power and sway of the divine.

"In accordance with the doctrine of the wonderful union of the divine and human wills that exist in the person of Christ, we concur in the consistency of attributing his operations to a natural and supernatural agency. We do not ascribe his superior actions only to the divinity, unconnected with the humanity; nor his inferior acts only to the humanity, unconnected with the divinity. Were it not truly proper to connect the great with the little, how could it consistently be said that the Son of Man descended from heaven, and that God was crucified and bled on the cross? To the unconfounded union of both the divinity and humanity we attribute the divine and human operations of Christ, who sometimes as a God acted in the superior power of God, and sometimes as a man, acted in the capacity of man, as it is easily demonstrated by the whole course of his dispensations from the beginning to the close of his divine mission. He felt hunger as a man, and fed thousands with a few loaves as a God. He prayed for us and on our behalf as a man, and accepted with his Father the prayers of all his people as a God. In humanity he was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and was dumb as a sheep before her shearers; but he is the Word of God, by whom the heavens were created, in his divinity. He died in human nature as a man, and raised the dead by divine power as a God. He suffered the pangs of death as a man, and conquered death by death as a God. It was not the one that died, and the other that conquered death; but it was Christ himself, who died, who lives, and who vivifies the dead. For the same Christ, being a man, and of a mortal nature, and being a God, and of an immortal nature, not dividing into two the unconfounded union of the divinity and humanity, so as to render the one untorturable and immortal, and the other susceptible of tortures and death, he suffered on the cross for the salvation of mankind with the inapplicable combination of these contrarieties, yielding in human nature to tortures and death, and in divinity, being free from pain, and immortal. He that died in human nature, was alive in divinity; he that was tortured on the cross, remained also free from the pangs of tortures; he that perspired through fear, levelled on the ground his assailants; he that was unjustly humiliated and strengthened by angels, strengthens all his creatures; he that is Creator of the universe, coequal in divinity with the Father, was born from his creature, and

partook of our nature. He is proclaimed by the preachers of the gospel to be perfect God and man, uniting in his person divinity and humanity in a manner far surpassing the union of the soul and body; for the former, being commended into the hands of the Father, was separated from the latter, but the divinity continued inseparable from both of them*."

The preceding creed is immediately followed by a detailed account of the forms and ceremonies observed in the Armenian Church, similar to that which the writer had previously drawn out at the particular request of ALEXIUS. It is concluded by the following short paragraph :

"In the perusal of our letter, wherein the creed and the observances of our Church are explained in a comprehensive style, we humbly hope that your Gracious and Imperial Majesty will not deny us the candour and sincerity with which our sentiments are embodied in writing. Let us not be suspected of parasitical subterfuges in the communication of our thoughts, and let it be remembered that we have stated in this nothing which is at variance with simple truth, and the genuine effusions of our hearts."

The motives of the writer in making this assertion were to silence the mouths of such miscreants of his nation, as had gone over to the Church of Greece, and were invidiously endeavouring to baffle the consummation of the proposed union, by rendering the doctrines and ceremonies of the Armenian Church censurable in the eyes of the Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople.

On the return of the embassy to the Court of Greece, the letter of NIERSES was put into the hands of the emperor MANUEL, who personally presented it to the patriarch. A translation of it being read before a numerous assembly of the dignitaries of the Greek Church, they were struck with admiration at the irresistible arguments which it comprised. They were stimulated by its contents to the abandonment of the inveterate hatred which they bore towards the Armenians, and unanimously agreed in effecting the contemplated union between the two Churches. The emperor, excited by an intense desire of promoting this sacred cause, proposed to pay a visit to Armenia, accompanied by some of the learned theologists of Greece, with a view of meeting NIERSES the Graceful, and holding with him a conference on the religious differences that existed between the two nations; but he was unfortunately prevented from the fulfilment of his intention by the

* This clear, lucid and unequivocal confession of faith is enough to carry conviction to the minds of the most fastidious of our accusers, that the Church of ARMENIA is totally free from the heresies of EUTYCHES! Let it also satisfy such misinformed, misled, and misguided, writers as Mr. CHARLES MAC FARLANE, author of the *sublime* Tale of CONSTANTINOPLE, entitled "THE ARMENIANS," that we Armenians are not Eutychians, as he is led to believe from the misrepresentations of the Romanists.

commotions which at that time prevailed in the west. He consequently chose the alternative of deputing in May, A. D. 1170, to Hiromcla, LEZION Master THEORIANEY, a Greek divine, eminently distinguished for his theological and philosophical attainments, with JOHANNES, the learned Abbot of an Armenian monastery, from Philipopolis, generally known by the appellation of UTHMAN, bearing an imperial letter addressed to the pontiff of Armenia, in these terms :—

“ It afforded us great joy to learn your willingness to effect a happy union between the sister Churches, and acquiescing in your laudable views, we have deputed learned and pious men to confer with you on our behalf, and use every means in their power to remove the wall of partition between us.”

On the arrival of the deputation at Hiromcla, THEORIANEY and JOHANNES were kindly received by the Armenian bishops that were assembled by NIERSES the Graceful in the pontifical house, for the purpose of adopting the best mode of carrying the proposed union into execution. NIERSES, on the letter of the emperor being presented to him by THEORIANEY, shewed the latter every mark of honor and kindness, which his rank and the immediate object of his mission required. THEORIANEY had brought with him a copy of the letter of NIERSES, addressed to the emperor, with a view of obtaining an explanation on some points that appeared doubtful to them, and of satisfying their minds as to the reality of some assertions that were made by those who were inimically disposed towards the Armenian Church. To these ends an assembly of the Armenian and Greek bishops was held in Hiromcla, who commenced discussing the important points with decorum, mildness, and moderation. THEORIANEY, in the course of perusing the letter of NIERSES to the assembly, proposed, in proper order, several questions for solution, to which NIERSES made replies, full of convincing proofs. The course of discussions comprised queries on the duality of nature and will in the person of Christ, (about which point great stress was laid on this saying of CYRILLUS: “ The incarnate Word is of one nature,” which admits of various constructions,) the exact day of the commemoration of the nativity of our Saviour, the propriety of the prayer “ Holy God,” which was offered in the Armenian Church, the preparation of the holy unction, the necessity of performing prayers within the Church, and the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. At the conclusion of the meeting, NIERSES, in his endeavours to remove an erroneous impression from the mind of THEORIANEY, that the Armenians were monophysites, cited from a work of JOHANNES the philosopher, a renowned pontiff of Armenia, several proofs corroborative of the duality of nature in Christ. “ The work in question,” said he, “ which was before imperfectly known but to a few of our nation, was afterwards unanimously adhered to by my predecessors in the ponti-

ificate of Armenia." The work was, at the desire of THEORIANEY, produced at the meeting, and a few passages of the same being read to him, he highly admired its wholesome doctrine. A transcript of it was accordingly made out at the request of THEORIANEY, who wished to take it to Constantinople for the inspection of the emperor and patriarch. The proceedings of this council were committed to writing by THEORIANEY, as it appears from the panegyric written by NIERSES LAMBRONENSIS on NIERSES the Graceful. THEORIANEY's account of this meeting was, in the year 1578, published in Greek and Latin, in conjunction with the records of the fathers of the Church.

Before the mission had quitted Constantinople for Hiromcla, the emperor MANUEL communicated to MICHAEL, the patriarch of Syria, his intention of acceding to an union of the Greek and Armenian Churches. THEORIANEY, on his arrival at Hiromcla, wrote to MICHAEL, soliciting his presence at the Council of union which was shortly to be held in the pontifical house of Armenia. The latter deputed a proxy in the person of JOHANNES, bishop of Cheson, who, reaching Hiromcla after the meeting had terminated, felt great displeasure at the acquiescence of NIERSES the Graceful in the doctrines of the Greek Church, and began to censure him, as the representative of his patriarch, for such a line of conduct. NIERSES, by sensible observations, convinced him of the propriety and necessity of the union, and desired him that on his return to Syria he should use every means in his power to secure the consent of MICHAEL to the removal of the religious differences which had for ages disturbed the peace of the sister Churches.

On the departure of THEORIANEY for Constantinople in October in the year 1170, NIERSES addressed a letter to the emperor, of which the following is an outline.

"In delivering your Imperial letter to us, THEORIANEY assured us of the love and good-will, which you are graciously pleased to exercise in increasing the spiritual and temporal welfare of our nation. The proposal of effecting this happy union between the two Churches could proceed from no other source, than from a mind gifted with the choicest blessings of heaven, and entirely devoted to the service of its Creator. Enriched with every thing that is great and good, you burn with the desire of becoming a partaker of our spiritual poverty. On a conference held between us and the learned divines, whom your Majesty was pleased to depute, the veil of the unjust aspersions with which the two nations were covered, was rent asunder. By the collision of contrary opinions, the truth, which was surrounded with a mist of falsehood, burst to light, and shone with redoubled splendour. The result of the council of union is conducive to carrying conviction to the mind of every reasonable being, that the Greeks are free from the heresy of the Nestorian* division, and that the

* For the Nestorian heresies, see EUSEBIUS's Ecclesiastical history, tom. iii. pp. 256 and 257.

Armenians are also free from that of the Eutychian* confusion. Concurring in the fundamental principles of religion, the Armenians and Greeks are united together by the grace of God in the similarity of the creed of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. Fixed in the determination of our happy union, I shall address all our bishops residing in different quarters of Armenia, and ask their consent to some important points proposed by you for our acceptance, lest by their being excluded from taking a part in the furtherance of this desirable object, the result of our endeavours may prove contrary to our sanguine expectations. I have also, conformably with the desire of THEORIANEY, furnished him with another letter descriptive of the confession of our Church."

In this letter, after treating of the incarnation of our Saviour, in accordance with the tenor of his former one, he adds, that it is consistent with the orthodox faith to admit duality of nature in Christ, by reason of his perfect divinity and perfect humanity; that the Armenians, by attributing one nature to the incarnate word, on the authority of CYRILLUS, confess an unconfounded and indivisible combination of the divine with the human nature; and that the Church of Armenia anathematizes those who, in the sense of the heretical doctrine of EUTYCHES, may confessedly ascribe one nature to Christ.

On the return of THEORIANEY and JOHANNES UTHMAN to Constantinople, they felt great satisfaction in presenting to the emperor the letter of NIERSES, together with an account of the proceedings of the council. The perusal of these interesting documents afforded the greatest delight to the emperor, the patriarch, and the other dignitaries of the Greek Church. Their joy at the favourable prospect of their undertaking could only be increased by a sense of veneration, with which they were impressed on their being informed by THEORIANEY of the piety, mildness, and pleasant address of NIERSES the Graceful. The fame of the amiable qualities of the pontiff of Armenia rivetted the hearts of the Greeks to the cause of the sacred union, and made them exclaim with admiration, "Behold the wise course pursued by the pontiff of Armenia, and consider the orthodox creed followed by himself and the whole of his congregation! Thanks to Heaven, that in these

* The heresies of EUTYCHES are thus alluded to by EUSEBIUS in his Ecclesiastical History :

Ὡς δ' οὖν κληθεὶς Εὐτυχήης οὐκ ἐλήλυθε· τὰ δὲ, καὶ παραγενόμενος ἑάλω. εἰρήκει γὰρ, ὁμολογῶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν, μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶ. ὅς οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν ἔλεγεν εἶναι· καθαιρεῖται μὲν.

EUTYCHES igitur, cum ad synodum vocatus non venisset, ac deinde coram convictus esset hæc dixisse : Fateor Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ante unionem quidem duas habuisse naturas : Post unionem vero unam duntaxat naturam confiteor. Sed et corpus Domini negabat ejusdem esse substantiam cujus sunt nostra : depositus est.—Eusebii Ecclesiast. Histor. tom. iii. p. 261.

days of degeneracy we see a pastor of the Church adorned with so many Christian and moral virtues !” The hatred which the Greeks manifested towards the Armenians gradually began to abate, and a sort of generous sympathy was felt by the former, for the lamentable degradation to which the latter were reduced in a political point of view. They could not, however, reconcile themselves to the idea, that the Armenians, after conforming to the fundamental principles of orthodox faith, and admitting duality of nature in our Saviour, should still persist in asserting one nature in the union of his divinity and humanity. Though the arguments, with which the Armenians endeavoured to clear their minds on this subject, were perfectly sound and correct, yet the Greeks could not overcome their reluctance to make such concessions to them, and were consequently anxious that this obstacle to their union, together with a few others of minor importance, originating from certain observances of the Armenian Church, might prudently and speedily be removed.

Hereupon the emperor came to the determination of sending another embassy to Hiromela, consisting of the abovementioned THEORIANEY and JOHANNES UTHMAN, who were furnished with letters from the emperor and patriarch MICHAEL, bearing date December, 1172, and instructed to urge NERSES to apply himself with increased interest and assiduity to the fulfilment of the object in view, lest the death of either of them might put a stop to the successful termination of their undertaking. Nine points connected with the creed of the Church of Greece were distinctly stated in the imperial letter, for the consideration and subsequent acceptance of the Armenians. It was also proposed by the emperor, that those points, but particularly that of the duality of nature in Christ, should be discussed, and admitted by the Armenians in a general council to be held for that purpose. Should they, however, be reluctant in conceding to some of the points alluded to, they might communicate their objections in a letter addressed by their pontiff to the emperor. The proposed points are the following :

I. Anathematize those who admitted one nature in Christ, that is to say, EUTYCHES, DEOSCORUS, SEVERIUS, TIMOTHEUS, and the followers of their heresies.

II. Confess in our Lord Jesus Christ, one Son, one person, one hypostasis formed of two perfect natures, which are inseparable, indivisible, unchangeable, unalterable, unconfounded ; so as not to consider Christ in a separate sense the Son of God and the Son of the holy Deiparous, but to acknowledge in him unconfusedly the Son of God and the Son of Man, and to confess him to be both God and Man in the duality of his nature. Confess in him the duality of actions and

natural will, both divine and human, not resisting each other, but the human will following and obeying the divine. III. The prayer "Holy God" should be offered in your Church by the omission of "*who wast crucified for us,*" and the conjunction "*and.*" IV. You should conform to the Church of Greece in commemorating the feasts, that is to say, the Annunciation day, on the 25th of March; the Nativity, on the 25th of December; the Circumcision, on the eighth day after the birth of Christ, to wit, on the 1st of January; the Baptism on the 6th of January; the Presentation of our Saviour to the temple on the fortieth day after his birth on the 2nd of February, and in like manner, agreeing with us in observing all the dominical feasts, as well as those of the holy Virgin MARY, of St. JOHN, of the Apostles and of others. V. The preparation of the unction should be made of the oil of the fruit of trees. VI. The Communion Service should be performed with leavened bread, and wine mixed with water. VII. Let Armenian Christians, both clergy and laity, remain within the Church, during the hours of prayer and the performance of communion service, with the exception of public penitents, who are prohibited by ecclesiastical canons from staying in the midst of the Church during the time. VIII. You should accept the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh general assemblies. IX. The choice of the nomination of your pontiff should be vested only in the emperor of the Greeks.

On the arrival of the embassy at Hiromcla, THEORIANEY and JOHANNES UTHMAN met with a very kind reception from NIERSES the Graceful, who having respectfully received the letters of the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople, communicated the contents of them to the principal bishops and friars of the Armenian Church, who had repaired to Hiromcla from the mountains of Taurus and the frontiers of Mesopotamia. Though they were easily persuaded to concede to the chief points proposed by the Greeks, yet great difficulty existed in obtaining the consent thereto of other Armenian bishops, whose number amounted to upwards of three hundred, and who were living in different distant quarters, especially in the frontiers of Armenia major, save the body of monks who resided in monasteries, and who were almost of an equal number. Consequently, NIERSES thought it necessary to summon these worthies to the general meeting which was shortly to be convened for taking into consideration the points proposed by the authorities of Greece, and communicating the result of the assembly in a suitable letter to the emperor. He conceived the unanimous voice of all the principal dignitaries of the Church of Armenia indispensably necessary in the adoption of the points, which were the connecting links of the sister Churches, lest, he

feared, an unfortunate division might be created amongst the Armenian ecclesiastics, and the result of their undertaking be attended with lamentable detriment.

The ambassadors of the court of Constantinople applauded the wise precautions which marked every act of the pontiff of Armenia, but seeing that the council could not possibly be held before the setting in of the summer, they determined to depart from Hiromcla. NIERSES, in conjunction with THEORIANEY, addressed letters to MICHAEL, the patriarch of the Syrian Church, communicating to him the points which were proposed by the Greeks for their acceptance, and soliciting the favour of his presence in the council that was shortly to be held at Hiromcla for that purpose. MICHAEL being prevented by his various avocations from going to Hiromcla, sent in his room the friar THEODORUS, who was eminently distinguished for his profound learning and conversancy with the Syrian, Greek, Armenian, and Turkish languages. On the arrival of the latter at Hiromcla, he was received by NIERSES with every kind of respect due to his rank. A discussion arose between them on the import of the words "substance" and "nature," which, according to the doctrine of *Aristotle*, admitted of various constructions. THEODORUS, widely differing from the sentiments expressed by NIERSES on this subject, immediately took his departure from Hiromcla. In the mean while, THEORIANEY and JOHANNES UTHMAN returned to Constantinople, furnished with letters addressed by NIERSES to the emperor MANUEL and the patriarch MICHAEL. NIERSES promised them to convene a general council for the decision of the question of the intended union, and to endeavour to make the concessions they required. "I shall assiduously try," says he, "to overcome the long received customs of my countrymen, which prevail on them with the power of a second nature, and to force them to an acquiescence in such of the points proposed in your letters, as may possibly be reconciled to their minds. In so doing, we shall only be actuated by a desire of promoting divine love and peace amongst us, but not by an idea of turning from errors into truth. The acceptance of the rest of the points either must be overlooked by you, or left to time, and the happy union which shall shortly be effected amongst us."

Immediately after this, NIERSES addressed letters to all the Armenian bishops, abbots, and friars residing in different quarters of Armenia, Syria, Aluans, Georgia and Persia, communicating to them all that had passed respecting the union of the sister Churches. He also desired them to pray to the Almighty for the consummation of the laudable object in view, and to take an early opportunity of going to Hiromcla for the purpose of being present in the council that was

shortly to be convened. Moreover he deputed one friar STEPHEN with a letter, inviting the Armenian clergy of Ani and Haghbat to the proposed assembly.

But alas ! how often human endeavours and expectations are frustrated before they have attained to maturity ! On the lapse of a few months, while NIERSES was engaged in preparations for holding the council of union, his earthly career was by the inscrutable dispensation of God terminated, *Anno Domini* 1173, in the seventy-third year of his age. He enjoyed the supreme dignity of a pontiff for seven years, and in that period ordained only seven bishops. His remains lay in state for several days, during which time numbers of Armenians thronged to the pontifical house with a desire of kissing the hand of the deceased. Among those who had assembled there to pay their last tribute of veneration to the virtues of the deceased pontiff of Armenia, were NIERSES LAMBRONENSIS and several bishops and friars of distinction.

This melancholy event plunged the nation into the greatest distress, for they had lost in NIERSES the Graceful a vigilant pastor, a kind father, a faithful friend, a gifted divine, and a most zealous advocate of the truth of Christianity. GREGORY BASIL, the nephew of the deceased pontiff, who was living at a great distance from Hiromcla, on hearing of the dangerous illness of the latter, immediately repaired thither to see his uncle ere he breathed his last. On his arrival at that place, he found NIERSES dead. He evinced the greatest sorrow at the lamentable catastrophe which had fallen on his family and the nation in general. The funeral of the deceased pontiff was performed with the greatest pomp and honors, that his rank and exalted station deserved, being attended by almost all the dignitaries of the Armenian Church, the nobility and other distinguished members of the nation, whose heartfelt sorrow, at the irreparable loss which the Church and the state had sustained, could distinctly be read in the melancholy expressions of their downcast countenances. His remains were deposited in a sepulchre which was dug near that of his brother GREGORY, and a very splendid mausoleum was afterwards raised over him, bearing upon it a suitable inscription commemorative of his moral and Christian virtues.

News of this melancholy event reaching Constantinople, filled the heart of the emperor with the most poignant grief, and spread general regret throughout the Greek empire, every Greek sympathising with the Armenians for the loss which they had sustained in the person of their gifted pontiff. When his grief had comparatively subsided, the emperor wrote a letter of condolence to GREGORY BASIL, who had by

the unanimous voice of the nation succeeded his uncle in the government of the Church of Armenia. The progress of the religious union of the two nations, which was unfortunately impeded by the Church of Armenia's being deprived of its head, was renewed by the communications of the emperor with the pontiff GREGORY, who, emulating the laudable example of his immediate predecessor, manifested equal zeal and inclination in the restoration of peace to the bosom of the Church of Christ. Before, however, the question of the long wished-for union was happily decided, Greece was deprived of her most illustrious, pious, and virtuous ruler, in the year of our Lord 1180, which melancholy catastrophe proved a death-blow to the nearly-finished structure of peace, and blasted in the bosoms of every Armenian and Greek the hopes of their future union!

II.—*Discovery of Buddhist Images with Deva-nāgarī Inscriptions at Tagoung, the Ancient Capital of the Burmese Empire. By Colonel H. BURNEY, Resident at Ava.*

[Read before the Society, 6th April, 1836.]

I have the pleasure to forward to you a couple of images of GAUDAMA in *Terracotta*, which Captain HANNAY has just sent down to me from *Tagoung*. On both there is an inscription, apparently in the same old Deva-nāgarī character, as in the inscription No. 2, of the Allahabad column, and probably consisting of the same words as those on the image of Buddha found in Tirhut, and in the other ancient inscriptions described in No. 39 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society*.

Tagoung, written *Takoung*, (or according to Sir W. JONES's system, *Takaung*, but pronounced by the Burmese *Tagoung*;) you will find placed in our maps a little above the 23rd degree of north latitude, and on the eastern or left bank of the *Erawadi* river. Captain HANNAY, however, has ascertained its latitude by an observation of the sun to be 23° 30' N., and several Burmese itineraries in my possession make its distance from Ava 52 *taings*, or about 100 miles. The Burmese consider *Tagoung* to have been the original seat of their empire, and the site of an ancient city, which was founded before the time of GAUDAMA, by a colony that emigrated from Central India. Some faint remains of an old city are still to be seen on this spot, where among the ruins of some pagodas, Captain HANNAY found the images I now send you. No one here can decypher the character of the inscriptions, but on showing to some of the learned, the account

* This is precisely the case:—even to the form of the letters—the dialect however seems to be *Magadhi* or *Pāli*, *dharmā* and *pabhavā* for *dharmā* and *prabhavā*, &c. See the accompanying plate.—ED.

II.—*Memoir of a Hindu Colony in Ancient Armenia.* By JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq., M. A. S.

A singular account of a certain colony of Hindus, that emigrated from India into Armenia, is recorded in the historical work of ZENOBIUS, a Syrian Bishop and primate of the convent called Innaknian*, who flourished in Armenia in the beginning of the third century. The narrative was evidently written in Syriac, and intended for the Syrian nation, though the writer seems to have subsequently re-written the same in the Armenian language, but with Syrian characters; the letters of our alphabet having been invented a century posterior to that period. By a very long residence in Armenia, ZENOBIUS was successfully enabled to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Armenian language, in which his history has been handed down to us. This interesting work was published in Venice, in the year 1832, being carefully collated with five manuscript copies, written in different periods.

I shall, in the present memoir, first give a description of this Hindu colony from the narrative of ZENOBIUS, and then an account of the religious wars waged between them and the first propagators of Christianity in Armenia.

“ This people had a most extraordinary appearance. They were black, long-haired, ugly and unpleasant to the sight. They claimed their origin from the Hindus. The story of the idols, worshipped by them in this place, is simply this : DEMETR† and KEISANEY‡ were brothers, and both Indian princes. They were found guilty of a plot formed against their king, DINASKEY§, who sent troops after them, with instructions either to put them to death or to banish them from the country. The felons, having narrowly escaped the pursuit, took a shelter in the dominions of the king VALARSACES, who bestowed on them the principality of the country of Taron. Here a city was founded by the emigrants, who called it Vishap or Dragon. Having

* ԻՆՆԱԿՆԻԱՆ Innaknian, literally meaning, nine springs or fountains, which existed in the place.

† ԴԵՄԵՏԵՏԻ DEMETR is a Greek name, probably borrowed by the Hindus from the Bactrians or the descendants of the troops of ALEXANDER the Great.

‡ ԿԵԻՍԱՆԵՅ KEISANEY is derived from ԿԵԻՍ ԼՈՒՍ KEIS, which both, in Armenian and Persian, signifies a ringlet or a curling forelock. Thus we have in RICHARDSON ԿԵԻՍ ԼՈՒՍ ԿԵԻՍ ԼՈՒՍ locks fragrant as amber.

§ ԴԻՆԱՍԿԵՅ DINASKEY is the name of the Indian king mentioned in the Armenian text, for which I have in vain searched in all old historical records and chronological tables of the dynasties of ancient India.

come to Ashtishat*, they raised idols there in the name of those they worshipped in India. Fifteen years after their settlement in the country, both of the brothers were put to death by the king, for what fault I do not know. He conferred the principality on their three sons, named KUAR, MEGHTI and HORAIN. The first built a village, and called it after his own name *Kuars*. The second founded a village on the plain, and called it after his own name *Meghti*. The third also built a village in the province of Palunies, and gave it the appellation of *Horains*.

After a certain space of time, KUAR, MEGHTI and HORAIN, of one accord, resolved on changing their abode. They sojourned on the mountain called Kárki, which to a delightful temperature added a fine and picturesque appearance. It abounded in game, herbs, wood, and all that is adapted for the comfort and convenience of man. Here they raised edifices, where they set up two idols, respectively dedicated to KEISANEY and DEMETR, in honor of whom attendants were appointed out of their own race. KEISANEY had long flowing hairs, in imitation of which his priests allowed the hairs of their heads to grow, which custom was afterwards prohibited by authority. This class of people, on being converted to Christianity, were not deeply rooted in their faith. They durst not, however, openly profess the religion of their pagan ancestors. They continued, therefore, dissemblingly to allow their children to wear plaited hairs on the crown of their heads, in remembrance of their idolatrous abominations."

The description of this idolatrous colony is entirely accordant with the colour, appearance, manners and religion of the present Hindus. The cause of their emigration from India is distinctly stated by ZENOBIVS, but through what route or in what period they found their way into Armenia, it is very difficult to determine. It is, however, clearly evident that they had formed a permanent settlement in our country prior to the commencement of the Christian era. VALARSACES, under whose government they found protection, was grandson of ARSACES, the Parthian, and brother of ARSACES the Great, by whom he was appointed king over Armenia, *Anno Mundi* 3852, or a century and a half before Christ. I shall now proceed to give a translation of ZENOBIVS's narrative of the religious wars of this Hindu people with the first Christian converts of Armenia.

* ԱՇԻՏԻՏ Ashtishat was a city in Armenia Major. It was so called from ԱՇՏ sacrifice, and ԸՆԸ many; for innumerable sacrifices were offered there to the gods and goddesses of Armenia. It might, perhaps, be well compared to Jagannáth or Káli Ghát of this country.

"Having taken our departure from Thordan, we intended to proceed to Carin and Hanc. St. GREGORY was informed by some of the princes of the existence of two idolatrous temples in the province of Taron, the inhabitants of which offered sacrifices to the devil. Hereupon, our course was changed to the place where these temples stood, with a view to effect their demolition. Having arrived in the country of Palunies, in the extensive village called Keisaney, near the town of Kuars, we met there some of the heathen priests. Having ascertained from the prince of Hashtens that on the following day the great images of KEISANEY and DEMETR were to be levelled to the ground, they repaired to the temples in the dead of the night, and removed from thence all the treasure into subterraneous places. Intimation of the impending danger was forthwith sent to the heathen priests in Ashtishat, who were earnestly urged to collect warriors, and quietly join them on the morrow in order to take an active part in the battle, which was to be fought by the great KEISANEY with the apostate princes. In like manner the inhabitants of Kuars were also instigated to lie in ambush in the hedges of gardens, and ruffians were sent to waylay the Christians in the forests. The head priest, called ARZAN*, and his son DEMETR, took the command of the troops stationed at Kuarstan, and halted there, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from other quarters. On the following day they made a descent to the skirts of the mountain, in order to indulge in marauding and pillage.

"St. GREGORY, accompanied by the prince of Arzruniest†, the prince of Anzevazies, and the prince of the house of Angl‡, and followed by a small number of troops amounting to about three hundred, ascended the mountain in the third§ hour of the day, where ARZAN lay in ambush. They had not the least knowledge of the position of the enemy, and never expected to meet him there. On a near approach to

* ԱՐԶԱՆ *Arzan*, literally means in Armenian, statue, image or idol.

† ԱՐԾՈՒՆԻՔ *Arzrunies* was the title of a satrapy in Armenia, and signifies *eagle-bearers*. The Satraps known by this appellation, used to carry eagles before the Arsacian king VALARSACES and his successors.

‡ ԱՆԳԵՂՏՈՒՆ *Angltán*, the genitive of which is ԱՆԳԵՂՏԱՆ *Angltan*, means the house of *Angl* ԱՆԳՂ or vulture. This was a title of distinction, conferred on a noble family in Armenia, compared to that bird of prey, on account of the ugliness and deformity of their features.

§ This is to be understood according to the mode of the computation of time, obtaining in eastern countries. The hour mentioned here, corresponds with nine o'clock in the morning. Thus we have in the Acts: "For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is *but* the third hour of the day."

the acclivity of the mountain, ARZAN and DEMETR rushed out from the ambuscade, and on a signal being given, the trumpets of war were sounded, and a furious attack was instantly commenced. This was enough to alarm the Christian princes, whose horses took fright from the sound of the trumpets, and began to neigh and plunge, and create the greatest confusion. Hereupon, the prince of the house of Angl raised his voice and cried, 'Prince of the Seunies, step forward and see whether these are the troops of the prince of the north.' The necessary inquiries were made, but no satisfactory information was obtained. The prince of the Seunies returned and insisted on the removal of St. GREGORY and his companions to a secure place, lest, he feared, they might be made prisoners by the enemy, which event would surely excite the anger of the king, and bring the Christian princes into disgrace. 'Send then,' added he, 'a trusty person to recall our troops, for the number of the enemy is alarmingly great, and innumerable flags are seen waving in the air.'

"No sooner was the warning given, than the prince of the house of Angl, gave charge of St. GREGORY to the prince of the Mocks, with instructions to convey him to the castle of Olkan, and there to await the issue of the battle. Information of this was immediately sent to the troops. The prince of the Mocks, accompanied by St. GREGORY, descended the declivity of the mountain, wishing to repair to Kuars. They met with great resistance on the way from a party of the enemy, but by the help of Providence, at last succeeded in effecting their escape. We were, however, pursued by a number of villagers, but being mounted on swift horses, took refuge in the castle of Olkan, where we met with a timely assistance and protection. The villagers having proceeded to the town of Kuars, informed its people of the place of our retreat. The castle of Olkan was, therefore, instantly besieged. We were thus seized with apprehensions for our safety, and forthwith dispatched a messenger with letters to the prince of the house of Angl, conveying him information of the perilous situation in which we were then placed. He immediately sent us four thousand troops, all selected from the army, and furnished with swords, who crossed the river and reached their destination on the following day. After a siege of three days, they took possession of the town of Kuars, and reduced its walls to ruins, and razed all its houses to the ground. The people of the place, that had escaped the stroke of the sword, were conducted to Meghti.

"The Christian princes being apprised of this, ascended the mountain, and descried ARZAN in ambuscade with four hundred men, more or less. They immediately made a sortie on the enemy, and put

ARZAN to flight. The Armenian troops having heard the din of battle, immediately crowded to the mountain. Upon this, ARZAN began to rally, and heap on the Armenian princes torrents of abuse. 'Step forward, said he, ' ye base apostates, who disbelieve the gods of your ancestors, and are opposed to the glorious KRISANEY. Do you not know that it is KRISANEY that wages war with you this day, and will subdue you under our hands, and inflict you with blindness and death?' The prince of Arzrunies, having rushed forward, said, 'Thou worthless bully, if you fight on behalf of your gods, you deceive yourselves; if you fight on behalf of your country, you only display your own folly. Behold the prince of the house of Angl, and the prince of the house of Seunies, and the other nobles, whom you know too well.' To which DEMETR, the son of ARZAN, thus replied: 'Listen unto us, ye Armenian princes! it is now nearly forty years since we are engaged in the service of the mighty gods. We have an experience of their powers, and are assured that they fight with the enemies of their servants. We are not, however, able to cope with you in battle. This is the habitation of the king of Armenia, and ye are his nobles. But, be it known to you all, that though it is out of our power to conquer you, yet we prefer to die a glorious death to-day in upholding the honor of our gods, than to live and see their temples polluted by you. Death is, therefore, more welcome to us than life.' Having spoken this, DEMETR challenged the prince of the house of Angl to a single battle.

"The prince of the house of Angl having accepted the challenge, made an instantaneous attack on ARZAN, who inflicted a wound with his spear on one of the thighs of his antagonist, and was on the point of levelling him to the ground. The prince of the house of Angl having, by an adroit movement, regained his position, thus addressed the enemy: 'Know thou this, ARZAN! that this spot must receive the appellation, by which you are called; for here thou art destined to fall, and be fixed like a statue!' No sooner was this spoken, than he lifted up his arm, and aimed a stroke of his sword on his right shoulder, by which his head, together with his left shoulder and leg, was instantly severed from the body. Thus fell ARZAN, and was fixed like a statue on the ground. He was buried on the very spot, which to this day is called, after his name, *Arzan*.

"Hereupon the heathen army was immediately swelled by re-inforcements sent by the priests from the city of Vishap. The people of Partukh, and Meghti and Astaghon, also crowded to the spot of battle,

and the number of the army was thus increased to five thousand four hundred and fifty.

" Their arrival in the summit of the mountain, created great noise and confusion in the ranks of the two armies. The heathen priests made a simultaneous attack on the Armenian troops, and by a vigorous pursuit after them made them descend the declivity of the mountain and fly towards the village. The villagers, who lay in ambush, having encountered our troops, stopped their progress, and these being thus hemmed in on both sides, were put to the sword. But the prince of the house of Angl having passed through the ranks of the heathen priests, directed his course towards the mountain, where several men were kept in reserve, and caused great mischief by flinging stones at our horses. ДЕМЕТР having observed the prince of the house of Angl ascend the mountain, left the rest below and pursued his steps. He was immediately followed by his troops, all mounted on horses.

" The battle was resumed on the top of the mountain. Our army waited in expectation of further re-inforcements. The whole of our troops had not yet assembled on the spot, of whom four thousand remained in charge of the prisoners in Meghti, and three thousand proceeded to Basain and Hanc. The rest were given to pillage and marauding in the field. Ere decisive blows were exchanged, the approach of night put a stop to further operations. Both armies were, therefore, obliged to encamp on the spot and wait the dawn of the morn. On the following day the expected Armenian troops made their appearance; and a re-inforcement of about five hundred men, from the city of Tirakatar, came to the assistance of the heathen priests. The number of both armies were swelled in this manner. The heathens amounted to six thousand nine hundred and forty-six men, while the Armenians were only five thousand and eighty in all. The trumpets were sounded, and the battle commenced on both sides. In the beginning the Armenians proved victorious over the heathens. But the prince of Hashtens, formerly attached to the party of ДЕМЕТР, but now commanding the Armenian army, deserted his post, and joined the ranks of the heathen priests with seven hundred men. The Armenians met with a formidable antagonist in this deserter. Our troops were seized with fear and dismay at the desertion of this brave warrior, whose superiority in military operations was generally acknowledged, and whose extraordinary prowess had rendered him an object of respect and admiration with all the Armenian princes. The rebel attacked our army with the greatest fury, and was flushed with the success of his arms. Hereupon the prince of the Seunies

cried to him in a contemptuous voice, 'Thou whelp of a wolf* ! thou beganst to display the disposition of thy father, and feel a delight in feasting upon carrion.' The rebel replied in a bold and reproachful manner, 'Thou vainglorious eagle† ! thou only piquest thyself on the power of thy wings ; but if thou ever fallest in one of my traps, thou shalt soon feel the weight of my arms.' The prince of the Seunies could not brook this taunt, but furiously rushing on him, directed the axe which he held in his hand to his helmet, and having driven him to some distance from his troops, pursued him to the eastward of the mountain. Here, opposite to the convent of Innaknian, he brought him to the ground by a violent shove from the horse ; and having himself alighted, instantly severed his head from the body, which he precipitated headlong from the mountain. 'Now,' said he, 'let vultures behold you, and know that the eagle has killed the hare.' Immediately after this, the prince of the Seunies returned to the army ; and the place where the prince of Hashtens fell, is to this day called by the appellation of the *Eagles*.

"The Armenians were emboldened by this success, and the prince of Arzrunies attacked the head priest of Ashtishat, called *METAKES*, whom he dragged to the summit of the mountain, commanding a view of the battle. *METAKES* here made a violent resistance, and inflicted a wound on one of the thighs of his pursuer. The latter, burning with rage and a spirit of revenge, levelled a stroke of his scymetar on his neck, which he cut off from the body. He threw down the headless trunk, and the spot where the deed was committed, received the appellation of *Metsakol*.

"The prince of ‡ *Arges* seeing this, consulted his safety in flight, and secured himself in a place of concealment. The prince of Arzrunies, seemingly not noticing this, gently approached the fugitive, and made a sudden and unexpected attack on him. The wretch fled into the forest, where the sharp point of one of the branches of a tree, having passed through his breast, hastened his fall and dissolution. The conqueror returned with the horse of the dead, and the spot was called the vale of *Arges*.

"Immediately after his return he found *DEMETER* and the prince of

* ԳԱՅԼԱԿՈՐԵԱՆ *Gailakoreán*, literally, means a young wolf, or the cub of a wolf.

† ԱՇԱՐԻՆԻՅԱՆ *Ashtishat* is an abusive mode of expression in Armenian, similar to that of ԱՅ ԸԱՆ ԶԱԳ *thou son of a dog*.

‡ ԻՇԽԱՆՆԱՆ *Ishtakhan* Prince of *Arges* was another title of nobility in Armenia, literally signifying the prince of the bears.

the house of Angl wrestling together with the greatest fury. Having made a violent rush, he chopped off the right shoulder of the former, and threw it on the ground. The severed head he carried away in his knapsack. The victorious Armenians put the heathen army to the sword, and the number of the killed amounted to one thousand and thirty-eight. The rest were made prisoners, and stripped of all they were possessed of. The son of the prince of the Mocks fell in the battle by the hand of DEMETR, and this melancholy event spread universal sorrow among the Armenian troops.

"The fall of DEMETR was made a signal of cessation from slaughter, and the trumpet of peace was sounded by order of the prince of the Seunies. The two armies immediately desisted from the continuance of carnage. The surviving heathen priests gladly availed themselves of the occasion, by soliciting the Armenian princes to sanction the interment of their dead. Their request was readily granted. The killed on both sides were collected in heaps, and buried in pits dug for the purpose. Monuments were raised on their graves, bearing the following inscription, in Syrian, Hellenic, and Ismaelitish characters.

ԱՌԱՋԻՆ ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄ ՈՐ ԵՂԵԻ ՅՈՅԺ ՍԱՍՏԻԿ
 ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԻՆ ԳԼԽԱՒՈՐ ԱՐԶԱՆ ՔՐՄԱՊԵՏԻՆ
 ՈՐ ԿԱՅ ԱՅՍՐ ԴԻ ԹԱՂԱՐԱՆ
 ԵՒ ԸՆԴԻ ՆՄԱ ԱՐՈՂ ՀԱԶԱՐ ԵՐԵՍՈՒՆ ԵՒ ՈՒԹ
 ԵՒ ԶԱՅՈՂ ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄ ԱՐԱՐԱՔ ՎԱՍՆ ԳԻՍԱՆԵԱՅ ԿՈՒՅ
 ԵՒ ՎԱՍՆ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍԻ :

"THE FIRST BATTLE FOUGHT VERY FIERCELY,
 THE CHIEF COMMANDER IN THE BATTLE WAS ARZAN THE HEAD PRIEST,
 WHO LIES HERE INTERRED,
 AND WITH HIM ONE THOUSAND AND THIRTY-EIGHT MEN.
 WE WAGED THIS WAR FOR THE IDOL KEISANEY
 AND ON BEHALF OF CHRIST."

Here concludes the narrative of the religious war. Our historian, it appears, was an eye-witness to the scene he describes. This victory was celebrated by the Armenians with the greatest pomp and merriment. The heathen temples were razed to the ground, and the images of KEISANEY and DEMETR were broken to pieces. They were both made of brass. The length of the former was fifteen feet, and that of the latter twelve feet. The priests of the idols, with tears in their eyes, intreated the victors to put themselves to death, rather than destroy their mighty KEISANEY. Six of the priests were killed on the spot, for the resistance they offered to the Armenians. On the restoration of peace, the prince of the Seunies proceeded

to the village of Kuars, and succeeded in persuading its inhabitants to forsake idolatry and embrace the Christian religion. Being duly prepared for baptism, they were conducted to the valley of Ayzasan, where they were baptised by St. GREGORY, and thus admitted into the fellowship of the Church of Christ. "The number of persons," says ZENOBIUS, "christened on the first of Navasard*, including men and children, amounted to five thousand and fifty." Females, it appears, were excluded from this number, and baptised on another day, appointed for the occasion. Some of the heathen priests and their families, however, tenaciously adhered to the idolatrous practices of their forefathers. The paternal persuasions of St. GREGORY had no effect upon their minds. "Remember this well," said they to the Armenian princes, "that if we live, we will make you a recompense for your treatment; but, if we die, the gods will wreck their vengeance on you all on our behalf!" Hereupon the prince of the house of Angl ordered them to be taken to the city of Phaitacaran†, where they were imprisoned and their heads shaved. The number of these prisoners amounted to four hundred.

It is impossible to know what was the number of this Hindu colony at the time of their emigration from India into Armenia. We are, however, certain, that from the date of their first settlement in the Armenian province of Taron to the day of the memorable battle, a period of about four hundred and fifty years, they must have considerably increased and multiplied, and thus formed a part of the population of the country. No vestiges of this Hindu race can, at present, be traced in Armenia, save the record of their exploits, handed down to us in the narrative of ZENOBIUS‡.

* ՆԱՒԱՍԱՐԴ. *Navasard* is one of the ancient Armenian months, corresponding with the month of August. An account of these months is given by M. BROSSET in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* for December 1832, page 526.

† ՓԱՅՏԱԿԱՐԱՆ. *Phaitacaran* was the capital of an extensive province of that name, where SANATRUK, the great Armenian Satrap, proclaimed himself king immediately after the death of TIRIDATES. It is situated on the confluence of the rivers Araxes and Kur.

‡ Our historian was also called by the appellation of ԳԼԱԿ *Glak*, whom St. GREGORY appointed primate of the convent of ԻՆՆԱԿՆԵԱՆ *Innaknian*, which afterwards received the appellation of ԳԼԱԿ *Glak*.

P. S.—I may also mention that the *kow-tow* or nine prostrations, as knocking the head nine times on the ground, is in these countries always performed by inferiors approaching their superiors."

Translation of a Tibetan sloka, found on a white piece of China scarf, called བླ་མེད་པ་བླ་མེད་པ་ : b,krashis kha b,tags, or "scarf of benediction."

ཨོཾ ཁྱིམ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་ མཚན་པ་མེད་པ་ ཁྱིམ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་
མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

ཁྱིམ་མཚན་པ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་ ཁྱིམ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

The same in Roman Character.

Nyin-mo bde-legs mts'han bde'-legs, Nyin-mahi gung yang bde-legs-shing,

Nyin mts'han rtag-tu brda-legs-pahi, dkon-chog gsum-gyi bkra-shis shog.

Translation.

"Blessed the day ; blessed the night ; the mid-day also being blessed : may day and night, always return (bring) the special favour of the three most precious (holy) ones."

(Or thus ; the favour of the eminent three holy ones) the བླ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་ being rendered, in Latin, *insignis, eminens*, &c.

NOTE.—On the cloth the བླ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་ is not sufficiently distinct ; I took it first for བླ་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་ as in the two former lines ; but now I correct it as it probably stands on the cloth.

30th May.

A. CSOMA KÖRÖSI.

III.—*Note on the origin of the Armenian Era, and the reformation of the Haican Kalendar.* By JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq., M. A. S.

While the Abyssinians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Persians, Bactrians, and other primitive nations of Asia, have each had their respective epochs, the people of Armenia, where the descendants of the second grand progenitor of mankind began to increase and multiply, are not without a national era of their own. It is not my intention to enter here into a description of the various eras that have from ancient times obtained among the people of the East, as they have been successfully treated of in the chronological works of learned authors. I shall only confine my observations to the origin of the Armenian era, and the reformation of the Haican or Armenian kalendar.

It appears from our historical records that the Armenian era originated in A. M. 3252, immediately after the coronation of the Armenian king PAROYE. ARBACES, prince of the Medes, it must be remembered, having availed himself of the assistance of PAROYE, and of BELESIS NABONASSAR, a prince of Babylon, succeeded in subverting the Assyrian kingdom, and proclaiming himself king of Assyria. Ensigns of royalty were conferred by the conqueror on both of his powerful allies, each of whom returned from the field of battle to his respective country. This memorable conquest of Assyria was signalled by the commencement of the era of NABONASSAR in Babylon, and by the origin of the Haican era in Armenia, which dates 743 years before Christ.

The Armenian era was from the commencement regulated according to solar years, like the eras of the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Egyptians. The ancients were of opinion that the solar year consisted of 365 days, without paying any regard to the addition of the six hours, which formed the concluding part of each year. Consequently, the Armenian era, like that of YZZDGERIAN the third of Persia, anticipated the Julian year by one day in every four years. They divided the year into twelve months, giving to each 30 days, and added five days at the end, called Աւելիւց *Aveliaz*, which signifies *added*, and is equivalent to the Greek word *pagomen* (παγομεν.) Thus the Armenian calendar year was made to comprise 365 days, leaving out the six hours. And according to this mode of computation all the Armenian years are *common*, but not *intercalary*. The following are the names and days of the Armenian months.

Armenian months. Days of the mths. Total of the days.			Here in the order of the Armenian months are to be seen not only the number of days thereof, commencing from Navasard, which is the first month of the year according to the Armenian era, but also the total of the days of the year up to <i>Aveliaz</i> or <i>Pagomen</i> , which invariably consists of 5 days, even in leap years.
Նավասարդ Navasard,	30	30	
Հորի ... Hori, . . .	30	60	
Սահմի .. Sahmi, ..	30	90	
Տրեյ ... Trey, . . .	30	120	
Կաղոս ... Kaghos, .	30	150	
Արազ ... Araz, ..	30	180	
Մեհեկան Mehekan,	30	210	
Արեգ ... Areg, ..	30	240	
Ահեկան Ahekan, .	30	270	
Մարերի . Marery, .	30	300	
Մարգար . Margaz, .	30	330	
Հիրոտի .. Hirotiz, ..	30	360	
Աւելիւց Aveliaz, .	5	365	

According to the above mode of computation, the month of Navasard will commence on the 24th of August in the year 1836, and after a lapse of four years it will begin on the 23rd of August 1840.

In this manner it will anticipate the Julian year by one day in every four years, and after a period of 120 years the difference between the Armenian and Julian epochs will be 30 days. The lapse of 1460 years will increase this difference to a whole year, and the beginning of Navasard will again fall on the 24th of August, the day on which it will have commenced in the year 1836.

It is stated in ancient Armenian chronological works, that the Armenian era was recommenced on the 11th of July, A. D. 552, on which day fell the first of Navasard. But the want of an intercalary day in the Armenian year creates a deviation of the beginning of the month of Navasard from the day of the Roman month, on which it originally commenced. We know on the authority of Armenian authors, that the month of Areg in the early part of the fifth century corresponded with the month of March. NIERSES the Graceful concludes his letter to the Greek Emperor EMMANUEL thus: "Written in the Armenian era 619, in the Armenian month of Areg, and in the Roman month of October." And in an old manuscript copy of the Armenian Ritual is stated thus: "Written in the Armenian era 670, in the month of Mehekan, which corresponds with the month of August."

In the year of Christ 551 the Armenian Kalendar was reformed by the Armenian Pontiff, MOSES the Second, a native of the village of Eliward, in the province of Aragazotn, and eminently distinguished for his extraordinary talents and profound erudition. On his elevation to the pontifical throne, he devoted his attention to the reformation of the Armenian Kalendar. A council was accordingly convened by him in Duin, consisting of learned Bishops and scientific individuals, by whose co-operation he succeeded in remodelling the Armenian Kalendar, as much as the circumstances of the times permitted, by newly commencing the cycle. Thenceforward the Armenian nation adopted the reformed Kalendar, and generally began to reckon their years in accordance with the rule laid down therein. In order to know the Armenian era, deduct from the Christian era 551 years, and the remainder, whatever it may be, will be the Armenian era required. For instance, if 551 years be deducted from 1836, the remainder will be 1285, which is the present Armenian year.

It is usual with the people of Armenia to reckon the hours of the day from sunset to sunset, in imitation of the custom prevalent in ancient times amongst the Italians. The day, consisting of 24 hours, is called in Armenian Աւր *Aur*, which entirely corresponds in sound with the English word *hour*! In the Armenian language the hours of the day and night have respectively distinct names, which I shall state below.

Names of the hours of the Day.

1. Արգ: Aig,
2. Ճայգ: Zaig,
3. Ջայրայթալ: Zairazial,
4. Ճառագայթալ: Charagathail,
5. Շարավիթալ: Sharavighail,
6. Երկրատես: Erkrates,
7. Շանթակող: Shanthakogh,
8. Հրակաթ: Hirakath,
9. Հուր փայլալ: Húr Phailail,
10. Թաղաթեալ: Thaghathail,
11. Առաղոտ: Araghot,
12. Արփող: Arphogh.

Names of the hours of the Night.

1. Խաւարակ: Khavarak,
2. Աղջամուղջ: Aghjamúghj,
3. Միթայթալ: Mithazail,
4. Շաղաւատ: Shaghavot,
5. Կամաւոտ: Kamavot,
6. Բաւական: Bavakan,
7. Խոթափալ: Khothapail,
8. Գիզակ: Gizak,
9. Լուսաշիւմ: Lusachiem,
10. Առաւոտ: Aravot,
11. Լուսափայլ: Lusapail,
12. Փայլածակ: Phailazú.

It is recorded in the ancient annals of Armenia, that ARMENAC, the son of HAIC, had twelve brothers, who were respectively called by the names of the twelve Armenian months. He had also twenty-four sisters, who received the respective names of the twenty-four hours of the day.

The Armenians of British India as well as of other parts of the globe, have adopted the use of the old Julian style and months in mercantile transactions, and in their correspondence with Europeans.

IV.—*Conjectures on the march of Alexander. By M. COURT, ancien élève de l'école militaire de St. Cyr.*

[Communicated by Captain C. M. WADE*.]

According to PLUTARCH, the first country through which ALEXANDER passed on leaving Hyrcania, was Parthia. I shall therefore set out from this province, which is supposed to be the modern *Khorasán*; and what confirms us in this supposition is, that to the south of Parthia was situated Tabiana, now *Thabas*, which town is to be found in this direction between two deserts. Another incontestable proof is, that the province of Margiana, which was contiguous to Parthia, is to be found situated in the country of *Meimané*, watered by the modern *Murg-áb*, called Margus by the ancients.

BARBIE' DU BOCAGE fixes the capital of the Parthian empire at Nicephorium, or *Nishapúr*. But I must here notice that the town of *Tún* may very probably be Parthonisa, of which he makes mention; and if this be the case, the tombs which are here to be found are those of the kings of Parthia.

* We are indebted to the kindness of a lady friend for the translation of M. COURT's valuable Memoir.—ED.

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PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF GENEVA; OF
THE ALBANY INSTITUTE, &c.

VOL. VI.—PART I.

JANUARY TO JUNE,
1837.

" It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science, in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and will die away, if they shall entirely cease."

SIR WM. JONES.

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JOURNAL
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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

No. 62.—February, 1837.

I.—*Singular narrative of the Armenian king ARSACES and his contemporary SAPOR, king of Persia; extracted from the Armenian chronicles. By JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq. M. A. S.*

ARSACES the second, son of TIRAN, wielded the sceptre of royalty in *Armenia* in the middle of the fourth century. He was contemporary with the Persian king SAPOR, surnamed the long-lived, with whom he closed a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive. Both were descendants of the ARSACIDÆ, and thus stood related to each other by the ties of consanguinity. Distrustful of the sincerity of the friendship of ARSACES, SAPOR took the precaution of securing it by the obligation of a solemn oath. He feared a formidable enemy in the person of the emperor of *Greece*, and it was his policy to devise every means in his power to alienate from him the good-will of the king of *Armenia*. In vain ARSACES assured him of his continued attachment. SAPOR sent for the Armenian priests of the church of Ctesiphon, the head of whom was called MARI. ARSACES was induced to swear by the Gospel in their presence, to keep inviolate the profession of his alliance and friendship to the king of *Persia*.

ARSACES was a valiant, but fickle king. His bravery could only be equalled by the degree of perfidy he displayed in his intercourse with the people over whom he ruled, and with his avowed allies. Cruelty and treachery were the principal characteristics by which his acts were distinguished. For a while he continued firm in the observance

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of his friendship towards SĀFOR, of which he afforded him a proof by co-operating with him in an expedition against the emperor of *Greece*. But, by the intrigues of one of his courtiers called ANDOVK, the good feeling and affection that existed between the two potentates, were changed into the deadliest enmity and hatred. ARSACES waged war with SĀFOR for thirty years, and fortune invariably crowned his operations with success. He owed many of his conquests to the skill, experience and intrepidity of the Armenian general VASAK, who, though of a diminutive size, on all occasions inspired the Armenian troops with courage, and created terror and dismay in the Persian ranks.

Flushed with success, and being naturally cruel, he ordered the principal Armenian satraps to be butchered in cold blood, and their estates and property confiscated. These and similar atrocities made him unpopular with his army, and estranged the hearts of the Armenian people from their monarch. Wearied by repeated hostilities, and harrassed by continued carnage, SĀFOR addressed friendly letters to ARSACES, inviting him to go to *Persia*, and expressing his readiness to conclude peace with him. ARSACES, however reluctant to desist from the continuance of war, was induced to accept his offer, and, in signifying his acquiescence, sent him suitable presents. But, SĀFOR far from wishing to renew his friendship, endeavoured to decoy ARSACES and to annihilate the kingdom of *Armenia*. FAUSTUS of *Byzantium*, who wrote a history of *Armenia* extending to the close of the fourth century, narrates a singularly romantic story about the visit of ARSACES to the Persian king, and his subsequent adventures in *Persia*. The work of this historian was first published in *Constantinople* in the year 1730, and latterly by the Mechitharistic Society of *Venice* in 1832. I shall here give a translation of the narrative.

"Then SĀFOR, king of *Persia*, sent another deputation to ARSACES, king of *Armenia*, expressing a desire to effect a reconciliation. 'If,' said he, 'we are willing to be hereafter on terms of peace with each other, this wish can only be realised by a visit to me on your part. I shall be to you as a father, and you as a son to me. Should you, however, be unwilling to accept of my proposal, then I must conclude that you are still inimically disposed towards me.' ARSACES was apprehensive of visiting the king of *Persia*, without demanding the obligation of a solemn oath from him. Hereupon, SĀFOR ordered a little salt to be brought to him, and according to the practice prevalent in *Persia*, sealed it with a ring bearing the impress of a wild boar, and sent it to ARSACES. He also intimated, that in case the

king of *Armenia* disbelieved his oath by refusing to accede to his wishes, then that refusal would be considered as a signal for the commencement of hostilities.

“By the intreaties of the Armenian people, ARSACES was induced to acquiesce, and *nolens volens* resolved to pay a visit to SAPOR. Accompanied by his faithful general VASAK, he proceeded to *Persia*, and was conducted into the royal palace. SAPOR no sooner saw them, than he ordered them to be placed under guards and treated as prisoners. He spoke to the Armenian king with contempt, and looked upon him as a slave. ARSACES expressed his regret for the past, and stood as a guilty man before him, who directed him to be kept under the strictest surveillance.

“Then SAPOR sent for astrologers and magicians, and communicated with them about his royal prisoner. ‘I have,’ said he, ‘on several occasions manifested affection towards ARSACES, king of *Armenia*, but he has returned my kindness with ingratitude and contempt. I have entered into a treaty of peace with him, which he swore to keep inviolate by that sacred volume of the Christian religion, which they call the Gospel. He violated that oath. I had contemplated to be uniformly kind and friendly to him, but he abused the confidence of my friendship. I ordered the Armenian priests of Ctesiphon to be summoned to my presence, from a supposition that they had deceitfully administered an oath to ARSACES, and afterwards instigated him to a violation of that oath. I considered them guilty of a heinous crime, but was assured by the high priest called MARI, of their having performed the task of adjuration in a just and becoming manner. It was also mentioned, that if the Armenian king acted contrary to that solemn obligation, the Gospel, by which he had sworn, would drag him to my feet. I could not, however, persuade myself to believe what MARI and his colleagues asserted. I ordered seventy of them to be slaughtered in one pit, and put their followers to the sword. The Gospel, by which ARSACES had sworn, and which is the fundamental rule of the Christian religion, I desired to be tied with chains and kept in my treasury. But, now I call to recollection the assertion of MARI, who intreated me to spare their lives, and assured me that the very Gospel would bring the perjurer to my feet. The prediction of that priest has been fully verified. It is now upwards of thirty years that ARSACES unceasingly waged war with the Persians, and on all occasions proved victorious. Now, he has surrendered himself to us of his own accord! Could I assure myself of his friendship and allegiance in future, I should allow him to depart in peace to *Armenia*, loaded with honors and valuable presents.’

"The astrologers and magicians required time for the consideration of the question proposed to them by Sapor. On the following day they assembled at the royal palace and said, 'Since the Armenian king Arsaces has come to you of his own accord, we desire to know how he speaks to you, how he behaves in your presence, and what does he think of himself?' Sapor replied, 'He considers himself as one of my servants, and lies prostrate in the dust at my feet.' The astrologers and magicians advised him how to act. 'Do what we say,' replied they: 'keep Arsaces and his general here in confinement, and send messengers to *Armenia*, with instructions to bring from that country two loads of earth and a large pitcher of water. Get the half of the floor of the royal pavilion strewed with the earth of *Armenia*, and holding the Armenian king by the hand, walk over that part of the ground covered with the earth of *Persia*, and confer with him on a subject. After which, tread with him over the earth brought from *Armenia*, and put him some questions. Thus you will be enabled to ascertain from his address and replies whether he will continue firm in his allegiance and friendship to you, after your allowing him to depart to *Armenia*. Should he, however, assume an overbearing attitude while treading on the Armenian earth, then be assured of the renewal of his hatred and enmity towards you, and of the commencement of fresh hostilities immediately after his return to his native soil.'

"The king of *Persia* adopted the suggestions of the astrologers and magicians. He despatched messengers to *Armenia* with dromedaries, for the purpose of bringing a quantity of earth and water from that country, and trying therewith the proposed experiment. In course of a few days the orders of Sapor were put into execution. He then ordered the half of the floor of his royal pavilion to be strewed with the earth, and sprinkled with the water brought from *Armenia*, and the other half to be covered with the earth of *Persia*. He desired Arsaces, king of *Armenia*, to be brought before him apart from other individuals, and began to walk with him hand in hand. While going to and fro over the Persian earth, Sapor asks, 'why did you become my enemy, Arsaces, king of *Armenia*? I have looked upon you as my son, and contemplated to form an alliance with you by effecting a marriage between you and my daughter, and thus to take you into my adoption. But you have armed yourself against me, and of your own free will treated me as a foe, by waging war with the Persians for upwards of thirty years.'

"Arsaces replied, 'I have transgressed the law of friendship, and must confess my fault. It was I that routed your enemies, and put

them to flight, in the hope of being honored by you with rewards. But those, who had plotted my ruin, endeavoured to estrange my heart from you, and to create dissensions between us. The oath, administered to me by MARI, has conducted me to your presence, and here I stand before you! I am your servant, professing submission to you. Treat me as you choose, or kill me. I am a guilty man, and your despicable slave.'

"SAPOR the king holding him by the hand, received his justification, and conducted him to that part of the ground covered with the Armenian earth. No sooner had they began to walk there, than ARSACES changed the tone of his voice, and had recourse to vehement and insolent language. 'Thou wicked slave,' said ARSACES, 'stand aloof from me! Thou hast usurped the throne of thy lords and masters! I must punish you for the wrongs you have done to my ancestors, and the death of the king ARTEVAN* must be revenged on you! Thou hast robbed me of my crown and country, but these must be restored to me, and your audacity shall not be allowed to remain unpunished!'

"The king of *Persia* hearing this, began to walk again with ARSACES on the Persian earth. The Armenian king then renewed the profession of his submission, expressed his regret for what he had said, and, on his knees, retracted all his expressions. But when he was conducted again to the Armenian earth, he became more insolent than before; and on his returning to the Persian earth, he repented of his temerity. From morning to evening many similar experiments were tried by SAPOR, the result whereof appeared only to be a manifestation of alternate feelings of insolence and repentance in the conduct of ARSACES.

"Evening came on, and the hour fixed for supper approached. It was usual with the king of *Persia* to entertain ARSACES on a sofa, placed next to his own throne. But on the present occasion the customary rule was not adhered to. Precedence was given to the other royal guests residing within the court of *Persia*. ARSACES was allowed to occupy the last seat, on the Armenian earth. He preserved silence for a while, burning with indignation and a desire of revenge. At last he stood on his legs and addressed SAPOR thus: 'The throne on which thou sittest belongs to me. Abandon that seat instantly. My nation have a just claim to it. Should you, however, persist in your injustice, you may be sure of meeting with

* ARTEVAN was a king of *Persia*, whom ARDASHIR the Sasanian put to death, and usurped his throne.—*Vide Whiston's Latin translation of the history of Moses Khorenensis, Book II. Chap. lxx.*

a merited retribution from my hands immediately after my return to *Armenia*.

"Hereupon, SATOR ordered ARSACES to be put in chains, and driven to the castle of oblivion in *Khujistan*. Here he directed him to be kept in strict and perpetual confinement until his death. On the following day he summoned to his presence VASAK MAMICONIAN, the famous Armenian general, and heaped on him torrents of abuse. He took advantage of his diminutive size, and addressed him in a contemptuous manner. 'Thou little fox,' said he, 'remember that it was you that devastated our country for the last thirty years, by putting innumerable Persians to the sword! I will make you die the death of a fox!' To which VASAK replied, 'However diminutive I may appear in your eye, I am sure you have not as yet had a personal experience of my mighty arms. I have hitherto acted as a lion, though now you call me by the contemptible appellation of a fox! But, while I was VASAK, I was like a giant. I fixed my right foot on one mountain, and my left on another. The right mountain was levelled to the ground by the pressure of my right foot, and the left mountain sunk under the weight of my left.' SATOR desired to know who were personified by these two mountains, that were represented to tremble under the power of the Armenian general. 'One of these mountains,' replied VASAK, 'signifies the king of *Persia*, and the other the emperor of *Greece*. As long as we were not forsaken by the Almighty I held both the potentates in awe and subjection. While we obeyed the laws of the Gospel and followed the paternal advice of our spiritual head, NIERSES the Great*, we knew how to dictate and counsel you. But God has withheld from us the favor of his protection, and we are plunged into the pit with open eyes. I am now in your hands. Treat me as you choose.' Hereupon the king of *Persia* ordered the Armenian general VASAK to be cruelly butchered, his skin to be flayed and filled with hay, and carried to the castle of oblivion, where the king ARSACES was imprisoned."

Here ends this singularly romantic narrative of FAUSTUS. The castle of oblivion, it must be remembered, was a place of solitary confinement in *Khujistan*, intended for prisoners of rank and distinc-

* Մեծ Նիւսէս NIERSES the Great was one of the pontiffs of *Armenia*, and great-grandson of St. GREGORY the Illuminator. He built upwards of two thousand convents, monasteries and hospitals in *Armenia*, and was consequently called by the appellation of the *Chief Architect*. He was poisoned by PAP, the son and successor of ARSACES, and was buried in the village of *Thila*.

tion. The wretched inmates of this dreary habitation were by the law of the land considered politically dead. Even the bare mention of their names was strictly prohibited, under the pain of a similarly rigorous imprisonment. SAPOR owed a debt of gratitude to the faithful steward of ARSACES, called DIRASTAMATN, who had once saved the life of the former from imminent danger in the din and confusion of a battle. "I am willing," said the Persian king, "to make you a recompense for your disinterested services to me. You are, therefore, at liberty to ask any reward you choose, and your request shall be readily granted." DIRASTAMATN expressed his burning desire once to see his royal master. "I have no other wish," said he, "save that of being permitted to visit ARSACES, and to spend a day of merriment with him, released from his chains." SAPOR was unwilling to yield to the wishes of his benefactor, but in consideration of his strong claim on his generosity, allowed him to proceed to the castle of oblivion, under the escort of a trusty guard, and bearing with him a royal mandate sealed with the signet of the court of *Persia*.

DIRASTAMATN, on his arrival in the castle of oblivion, burst into tears and fell at the feet of ARSACES. He untied the chains of his royal master, washed his head, cleaned and anointed his body with odoriferous oil, invested him with costly robes, seated him on a throne, placed before him rare delicacies, and standing near him on his legs, acted the part of a cup-bearer. Affected by an immoderate use of wine, the king of *Armenia* gave vent to his inward grief, and began to groan from the pangs of his heart, by contrasting his former grandeur and happiness with his present servitude and misery. The knife, placed on the cloth, he thrust into his breast, and thus ended his miserable life in despair. DIRASTAMATN seeing this, dislodged the fatal weapon from the breast of ARSACES, and therewith put an end to his own existence.

This narrative of the condemnation and subsequent banishment of ARSACES, by the machinations of magicians and astrologers, is fully noticed by PROCOPIUS, in the fifth chapter of the first book of his history relative to the Persian war, probably borrowed from the historical work of FAUSTUS, extant in the Armenian language. But PHOTIUS, the celebrated Greek Patriarch, who wrote an abridgment of the history of PROCOPIUS, considered this story as a mere piece of romance or fable, and as such it will be viewed by the learned of the present age.

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VOL. IX.
PART II.—JULY TO DECEMBER, 1840.
NEW SERIES.



"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of Asia will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and will die away if they shall entirely cease."—SIR WM. JONES.

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A short Memoir of Mechithar Ghosh, the Armenian Legislator. By
JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq., M.A.S. &c.

Armenia, that favoured portion of the globe, famed in the page of ancient and modern history both for its physical resources and political changes, is generally admitted to have been prolific in giving birth to men of vigorous minds, and no ordinary attainments, maugre the lamentable disasters consequent on the overthrow of the dynasties of its kings, and the invasion of the barbaric hordes, by which it was overrun in the various periods of its history.

The subject of this memoir, Mechithar Ghosh, was born in the Armenian era 592, corresponding with *Anno Domini* 1143, in the city of Ganzak, once the capital of Armenia Major, situated between the sea or lake of Gelam and the river Kúr, or Cyrus. While in his teens, he devoted himself to the study of the Armenian language and classical literature, under the able and paternal tuition of the learned friar Johannes of Tavúsh. His heart burned with a love of knowledge, and his whole attention was literally absorbed in the acquisition of the learning of his country. The death of his preceptor, which imbued his mind with a tinge of melancholy, and subjected him to a temporary dejection of spirits, was not allowed to cool his ardour in the pursuit of his favourite study. From an association with learned men of all ages and all grades, he derived an exhaustless fund of knowledge, and was thus enabled to enrich his mind with the gems of science and literature. Not content with the intellectual riches of which he was already possessed, he repaired towards the frontier of the Black mountain,⁽¹⁾ then the acknowledged centre of all Haican⁽²⁾ learning and science, and the reputed resort of all men of letters and genius, with the view of extending his mental acquirements, and attaining to the highest possible eminence amongst his contemporaneous literati of Armenia. Here he was received with the greatest kindness, and the most marked attention, by his kindred spirits; and ultimately had the gratification to see his laudable endeavours crowned with the most triumphant success. He had the merit

(1) Սեբաստիա in Armenian.

(2) Haic Հայկ was the grand progenitor of the Armenians, who are also called Haics Հայք, after his name.

of ranking in the list of the most learned and erudite of his age, a consummation to which his whole ambition aspired ! The extent of his learning could only be equalled by the degree of austerity which he had imposed on the mode of his life. He was highly esteemed by all, for the urbanity of his manners, and rigidity of his moral discipline. After a stay of some years in the society of men eminent for their love and acquisition of wisdom, he went to the city of Carin,⁽²⁾ (the modern *Erzerüm*) preparatory to returning to Ganzak, the land of his birth. No sooner had he commenced tasting the sweets of the company of his relatives and nearest friends, after a long separation, than he had the misfortune to feel the disasters from the inroads of the Scythians, by whom that part of the country was cruelly harassed and devastated. This induced him to quit his native soil, and to proceed to the province of Khachen, where resided Vákhthánk, the prince of Hatherka,⁽³⁾ under whose protection he expected to enjoy comparative ease and freedom from the molestation of unbelievers. Here he meditated the propriety of devoting himself to a monastic life ; and having determined on this step, he bade adieu to his protector, and repaired to the province of Kain, where stood a convent, known by the appellation of Ketick.⁽⁴⁾ He took shelter within the precincts of this monastery, and joined its inmates with a full acquiescence in the rules of the institution.

On the demolition of that convent by the incursions of enemies, he constructed a new one on the spot, called the "Valley of Tanzút."⁽⁵⁾ He also built in this place a church, consecrated by the name of St. Gregory the Illuminator,⁽⁷⁾ and a small chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist.⁽⁶⁾ Subsequently, on the increase of the population in that place, he erected another church of solid stone, and on a more extensive scale, which was consecrated by the name of the holy Deiparous. The erection of this sacred edifice was finished in

(2) Կարին Carin is the name of the city of Erzerüm, in the classical atlas of Armenia.

(4) Վեդուանկ Էրզրումի շրջանի մէջ in Armenian.

(6) Գերեզ or Գերեզայ վանք in Armenian.

(5) Tanz Տանզ signifies *pear* in Armenian. The valley abounded in pears, and was therefore called Տանզան Tanzut, or *full of pears*.

(7) Սուրբ Գրիգոր Լուսաւորիչ St. Gregory the Illuminator flourished in the third century, and evangelised Armenia.

(6) Սուրբ Երեմիայի Մկրտիչ in Armenian.

the year 1191. The convent, newly constructed by him, received the name of Ketick,⁽⁹⁾ which appellation was afterwards applied to him, in commemoration of his being the founder of that monastery. He was also known by the cognomen Ghesh,⁽¹⁰⁾ which appellative was added to his Christian name, in consequence of his having very little, or no beard; this circumstance is corroborated by the testimony of his cotemporary and countryman, Kirakus⁽¹¹⁾ Ganzakensis, who had the honour and pleasure of his personal acquaintance and friendship.

Mechithar Ghosh is known to have been the author of numerous works of sterling merit. He wrote a book on human nature, in the shape of an address from Adam to his sons, and from Eve to her daughters. He also wrote several treatises on the Christian faith, and on the Communion of the Altar. His pastoral and admonitory epistles are also extant, and afford a proof of his unassuming piety and philanthropy. At the end of this epistolary work he says, "If I have ever erred in addressing these monitory letters to my countrymen, or unintentionally offended those whom I intended to benefit, I am most cordially penitent for my error, and readily ask their indulgence and forgiveness." He is also said to have written a commentary on the book of Jeremiah, and a great many sacred odes and poetical pieces. Some of the latter have been handed down to us, and are pronounced to be sufficiently elegant and sublime, to stamp him as a poet of no ordinary kind. His composition of "Choice Fables," is a combination of the *utile dulci*, and indicates his capacity to unite a great deal of instruction with much amusement. Of all the works of Mechithar Ghosh, the latter is the only one that has ever been printed. It was published by the Mechitharistic⁽¹²⁾ Society of Venice, on the 18th of January 1790. The chief recommendation of these Fables is, their originality, for which they are considered to be far

(9) The subject of this memoir was also called Մեծիկ Պատրիարք Mechithar of Ketick.

(10) Ghosh Գոշ in Armenian signifies *beardless* or *beardless*, vulgo *beardless*; and in English, *beardless*, or *one having very little beard*.

(11) Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի in Armenian. Kirakus is from the Greek word *Κυριαχός*, and its adoption as a proper name, is very common among the Armenians.

(12) This Society was founded by Mechithar of Sebastia, in the early part of the eighteenth century. Its members have been pre-eminently successful in promoting the revival of Armenian literature, and the publication of numerous works of considerable merit.

superior to the "Select Fables of Vartan," published at Paris in the year 1825, with a French translation, by that most indefatigable and highly distinguished orientalist, M. J. St. Martin, under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of that place.

But the crowning literary production of this great Leviathan of Armenian literature, is the Code of Laws which he concocted, framed, and promulgated, in the year 1184, and which has immortalised his name as a legislator and first-rate author, in the recollection of posterity. In the preparation of this law-book, he availed himself of the assistance of Frater Josephus and Frater Paulus, both equally distinguished in the page of our national history, for their literary attainments and deep research. The laws comprised in this Herculean work are both civil and ecclesiastical, and admirably adapted to the state of the Armenians of those days. Mechithar Ghosh shines more conspicuously in the character of a legislator than in that of a divine, a disciplinarian, an annotator, a poet, or a fabulist. I have treated, at great length of the code of this eminent legislator, in my "Essay on the Laws and Law-Books of the Armenians,"⁽¹³⁾ and furnished some specimens of the laws contained therein. I must here repeat, what I have already stated elsewhere, my deep regret at the total absence of a printed Armenian standard Code of Laws, to the great inconvenience and difficulty of the Armenians located within the pale of the Honorable Company's courts in this country. Authentic and genuine copies⁽¹⁴⁾ of the law-book of Mechithar Ghosh, are to be found in the extensive library of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice. Want of funds to meet the expenses of printing, if I am correctly informed, is the only cause of the non-publication of this valuable work of antiquity; which, if published, would unquestionably be considered one of paramount interest and utility to the Armenian nation in general, and to the Armenian colonists of Bengal in particular. If the Armenians living under the jurisdiction of the Zillah courts of this country, be really willing to promote the security of the property of their children, let them step forward with

⁽¹³⁾ Which will shortly be published.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Since writing the above, I have been credibly informed that correct and elegantly written copies of this book are also kept in the library of Etchmiatchin. It is to be hoped that the work in question will speedily be published, either at Venice or Etchmiatchin.

their purses unstrung, and, with a spirit of true patriotism, bestow this posthumous work of their renowned legislator of the twelfth century, as an invaluable boon on their expatriated countrymen of British India.

But to return to the immediate subject of this brief memoir. In almost all national meetings, and in all synodical proceedings, Mechithar Ghosh took a willing and active part. He was present in the grand council, convened in 1178, at Hiromclah,⁽¹⁵⁾ having for its object the formation of a union between the Armenian and Greek churches. His presence was also considered to be indispensably necessary in the two synods, respectively assembled at Lori and Ani, in the province of Shirak, between the years 1205 and 1207, for the express purpose of reconciling differences and dissensions, provoked by uneasy and turbulent spirits. He was desired by a particular invitation, bearing the signatures of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries, to favour them with his attendance. He attended the council of Lori, but sent an apology for his inability to be present in the synod of Ani. Advanced age, aggravated by bodily infirmities, was the unavoidable cause of his absence from that assembly. He sent, however, his vote in writing, expressive of his acquiescence in the proceedings of the majority of the meeting. Not quite contented with this, and unsuccessful in bringing the affairs of the meeting to a satisfactory termination, the assembled Bishops persuaded Mechithar Ghosh, by repeating their solicitations in writing, to honour the assembly with his presence. The meeting stood adjourned, waiting his arrival with no small degree of anxiety. "Hasten," said they in their letter, "to our succour, for we are sadly divided; and the division cannot be healed but by a sweet word from your lips. Your apology for your advanced age and bodily infirmities, is inadmissible. Should you be visited by death on your journey hither, we shall hold your memory in reverence by a suitable and lasting monument, worthy of the public virtues of the best of our divines. Only hasten to our succour!" Mechithar Ghosh complied with their wishes, however fatiguing and wearisome the journey to a valetudinarian of his age and description. His presence at the assem-

(15) Հիւրմեղ in Armenian. The etymological signification of Hiromclah is the *castle of Rome*. It was an impregnable fortress in the twelfth century, and belonged to the Count of Jocelyn during the days of the Crusaders.

bly had an electric effect. A short address from him, judiciously and temperately worded, calmed and soothed the assembled multitude. The differences and dissensions were buried in the waters of Lethe; peace and unanimity restored; and the assembly dispersed to the satisfaction of all parties.

Such a wonderful character was Mechithar Ghosh; and so universally esteemed, admired, honoured and respected by his countrymen, for his public and private virtues. The qualities of his mind kept pace with the qualities of his heart. He attained to a good patriarchal age, and terminated his earthly career, *Anno Domini* 1213, and his remains were interred in the convent of Ketick, with every demonstration of honour and affection becoming the memory of so great and useful a man.

He had a great number of pupils, several of whom survived him, and rendered themselves distinguished by their literary productions, and acts of public utility. I cannot better conclude the memoir of this very learned and truly excellent man, than in the words of his countryman and contemporary, Kirakus Ganzakensis:—

Զամանէ գրէ Կիրակոս . “ Բազումք էին որք աշակերտեցան 'ի նմանէ
“ վարդապետական բանին , քանզի համբաւ իմաստութեան նորա հռչակ-
“ կեցաւ ընդ ամենայն տեղիս , և զայլն առ նա յամենայն կողմանց . քան-
“ զի ըստ անուան իւրոյ մին թարգմէտ զամենեւին բանք նորա աք-
“ դիւնականք և լի նորհօք . . . վասն այսպիսի համբաւոյ բազումք որք
“ էին 'ի կարգի վարդապետ Յածկէին զինքեանս , և զայլն 'ի կարգի
“ աշակերտաց կալով . ուսանէին 'ի նմանէ , և առնուին վերստին հրամանս .
“ Եւ բազումք յաշակերտաց նորա հասին 'ի պատիւ վարդապետական . ”

“ There were many who availed themselves of the benefit of his indoctrination. The fame of his learning had spread far and wide, and attracted pupils from all parts of the country. He comforted them all, pursuant to the literal meaning of his own name!⁽¹⁶⁾ His words and instruction were beneficial, and full of merit and grace! Owing to the celebrity of his name, many who had been invested with the degree of professorship, scrupled to acknowledge their own dignity, and went to him with the profession of pupilage on their lips. They were indoctrinated by him, and newly received order. Several of his pupils had the merit of being honored with the doctoral degree.”

(16) Mechithar Մխիթար etymologically signifies *comforter, comforting, comfortable, comfort*, in the Armenian language.

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NEW SERIES.

"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of *Asia* will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and will die away, if they shall entirely cease."—SIR WM. JONES.

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On the Laws and Law-books of the Armenians. By JOHANNES
AVDALL, Esq., M. A. S. &c.

[This paper, Mr. Avdall informs me, was drawn up at the instance of Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland, who having referred to the author for information on the recognized sources of Armenian law, was answered by the production of this erudite paper. It contains a very clear exposition of a subject wholly unknown to general students, and mooted points of historical as well as legal interest.]



An account of the first enactment of laws, instituted in Armenia, by the Armenian king Valarsaces, a descendant of the Arsacidæ, is recorded in the historical work of Moses Chorenensis, a Latin translation of which, with the Armenian text, was published at London, in the year 1735, by the two brothers, William and George Whiston. This Armenian historian, of venerable antiquity, enumerates in a successive and proper order, the rules and regulations enacted by Valarsaces, both for the guidance of the inmates of the royal palace, and of the citizens in general. “Եւ օրէնս իմն հաստատէ ՚ի տան թագաւորութեան իւրոյ. և ժամս որոշէ ելևմտից և խորհրդոց և խրախճանութեանց և զբօսանաց . . . Հրաման տայ քաղաքացեաց մարդկան արգոյ և պատիւ լինել քան զգեղջկաց, և գեղջկաց պատուել զքաղաքացիս որպէս զիշխանս. և քաղաքացեացն մի՛ կարի առ գեղջկօքն պերճանալ, այլ եղբայրաբար վարիլ վասն բարեկարգութեան և աննախանձոտ կենաց, որ է շինութեան և խաղաղութեան և կենաց պատճառք, և որ ինչ նման այսոցիկ: ՚Դ. 7. “Legesque quasdam de aulâ suâ posuit, quibus exeundi et intrandi, consiliorum, et epularum atque oblectamentarum tempora distribuit. Ampliorem dignitatem atque honorem civibus, quàm rusticis haberi jubet; Rusticis, ut cives, tanquam principes, colant, imperat; Civibus, ne se erga rusticos superbè gerant, sed fraternam inter se vitam degant, honestè institutam, et ab invidiâ remotam, unde tranquillitas vitæ et securitas, aliæque ejusdem generis sint oritura.” *Lib. II. Cap. VII.*—From the foregoing facts it is evident that Valarsaces had

given a code of laws for the guidance of the Armenians. To have orally delivered these laws, without committing them to writing, was certainly unbecoming the enlightened and civilised reign of Valarsaces. But, of all the laws enacted by this king, one is repeatedly quoted by Moses of Chorene, which shall be mentioned below.

Laws enacted during the reign of the Arsacidae, first by Valarsaces the Parthian, and afterwards by others.

In the foregoing chapter Moses Chorenensis writes thus about Valarsaces:—“**Եւ քանզի բազում ունէր ուստերս, պատշաճ վարկաւ ճշամենեցուն առ իւր կալ ՚ի Սըծբին (ուր բնակէր յայնժամ ինքն Վաղարշակ.) վասն որոյ առաքէ զնոսա բնակել ՚ի կողմանս Հաշտենից, և ՚ի ձորն նորին սահմանեալ, որ է արտաքոյ Տարօնոյ. ՚ի նոսա թողլով զշէնս ամենայն հանդերձ յաւելուածով մտից առանձինն, և ոռճկաց կարգելոց յարքունուստ, և միայն զառաջին որդին՝ որ կոչէր Արշակ, պահէ առ իւր ՚ի համար թագաւորութեան: Եւ եղև այս յայնմ հետէ և առ յապայ օրէնք ՚ի մէջ Արշակունեաց, միոյ որդւոյ բնակել ընդ արքայի, փոխանորդ լինել թագաւորութեանն. և այլ ուստերաց և դստերաց գնալ ՚ի կողմանս Հաշտենից՝ յազգին ժառանգութիւն:”**

“Caeterum quum multos filios haberet, parum utile esse ratus, ut cuncti ad Nisibim manerent, in provinciam eos Hastensem dimisit, et ad Zoram, quae fines ejus contingit, trans Taronem sitam; illisque universa ea oppida attribuit et stipendia insuper de gazâ regiâ singulis statuit; at ex filiis suis, natu solùm maximum, Arsaces ei nomen erat, imperio destinatum. Deinceps inde consuetudo Arsacidarum fuit, ut unus de filiis cum rege habitaret, regni successor futurus, caeterisque filii ac filiae in regionem Hastensem ad possessiones suas abirent.” Artavazd the First, moreover, conferred on the Armenian princes, possession of the provinces of Aliovit and Arberany.

“ Սա ժառանգեցուցանէ զեղբարս իւր և զքորս ՚ի գաւառս Աղիովտի և Առբերանոյ, [Թողլով ՚ի նոսա զմասն արքունի՝ որ ՚ի շէնս այնմ գաւառաց, հանդերձ առանձին մոից և ոռճկաց, ըստ օրինակի ազգականացն՝ որ ՚ի կողմանս Հաշտենից. որպէս զի լինել նոցա պատուականագոյն և առաւել Թագաւորազնն քան զայնս Արշակունիս. միայն օրինադրէ՝ ոչ կեալ յԱյրարատ ՚ի բնակութիւն արքայի:” Դ.

21. “Is fratribus suis ac sororibus possessiones in provinciis Aluhotensi et Arberanensi dedit, regeumque eis vectigal attribuit, quod ex provinciae ejus oppidis redibat, propriumque ipsis stipendium insuper statuit, de more cognatorum, qui in regione Hastensi habitabant, ut honoratiores essent, atque adeo ad regiam dignitatem propius accederent quam Arsacidae caeteri; lege tantum sanxit, ne Araratam, quae erat regia habitatio, incolerent.”—*Lib. II. Cap. XXI.*—Sénátrúk also sent the daughters of Abgarus to that part of the country, about which Moses of Chorene says:—“ Ջամենայն գաւակ տանն

Աբգարու մաշեաց սրով բաց յաղջկանց, զորս եհան ՚ի քաղաքէն (Եղեսիոյ) բնակել ՚ի կողմանս Հաշտենից:” Դ. 32. “Sed omnem Abgari stirpem, praeter puellas, ferro sustulit, quas, ex oppido eductas, in provinciâ Hasteniâ collocavit.” *Lib. II. Cap. XXXII.*—Following this example, Artavazd the Second, sent the other princes to those provinces. “ Հալածէ յԱյրարատոյ զամենայն եղբարս իւր ՚ի գաւառս Աղիովտայ և Առբերանոյ, զի մի՛ բնակեցեն յԱյրարատ ՚ի կալուածս արքայի, բայց միայն զՏիրան (զեղբայր իւր) պահէ փոխանորդ իւր. զի որդի ոչ գոյր նր: Դ.

58. “Artavazdes omnes fratres suos ab Araratâ in Aluotam et Arberaniam provincias pepulit, ut ne Araratam ac possessiones regias incolerent. Tiranum modò secum retinuit, regni successorem, cum sibi non esset filius.” *Lib. II. Cap. LVIII.*—The royal descendants having permanently settled in these parts of the country, began to

increase and multiply, and after the lapse of several years, the number of their offspring became very considerable, so much so, that an appeal was made by them to Tiran the First, touching the insufficiency of the provinces allotted for their habitation, to contain such an increased and increasing number of inhabitants. Moses of Chorene says:

“Եւ եկեալ առ նա կանխագոյն իւրոյ ազգին Արշակունեաց որ էին ՚ի կողմանս Հաշտենից, ասեն. ընդարձակեա՛ն մեզ զԺառանգութիւնս զի նեղ է, քանզի բազմացաք. և նա հրամայէ ոմանց ՚ի նոցանէ երթալ ՚ի գաւառն Աղիւտի և Առբերանոյ. իսկ սոցա առաւել ևս բողոք կալեալ առ արքայի, թէ առաւելագոյն նեղ է մեզ, ոչինչ ունկնդիր լինի Տիրան, այլ հաստատեալ վճիռ՝ ոչ այլ ժառանգութիւն տալ նոցա, բայց զոր ունին հաւասար տրոհել յինքեանս. զոր բաժանեալ ըստ մարդաթուի՝ գտաւ պակաս ժառանգութիւն բնակողացն Հաշտենից. վասն որոյ բազումք ՚ի նոցանէ եկեալ ՚ի գաւառն Աղիւտի և Առբերանոյ:” Դ. 59. “Caeterum brevi tempore interjecto ad eum gens sua Arsacidarum venit, quae Hastenios tractus havitavit, dicens, “profer nobis haereditatis fines, quae arctae sunt, cum simus admodum multiplicati.” Ille vero eorum nonnullos in Aluotam et Arberaniam provincias migrare iussit; cumque ii ad regem acriter clamarent, regionem eam ipsos nimis coarctare, Tiranus, nihil annuens, Edicto sanxit daturum se eis haereditatem aliam nullam; quam tenebant, aequaliter inter se dividerent. Quam cum pro hominum numero partiti essent, incolis minime sufficere Hastenia reperta est, ac propterea multi eorum in provincias Aluotam et Arberaniam commigrarunt.” *Lib II. Cap. LIX.*—Immediately after the death of Khosrow the Great, when Ardashir, king of Persia, made an aggression on Armenia and conquered the country, he extended his royal munificence and support to these descendants of the Armenian kings. For the said venerated historian says: “Իսկ Արտաշրի գեղեցկապէս յարդարեալ զաշխարհս

Հայոց՝ ի կարգ առաջին հաստատելը, նա և զԱրշակունիսն (զարքայորդիսն) զմեկուսացեալսն ի Թագէն և յԱրարատն բնակելոյ՝ կարգէ ի նոյն տեղիս մախք և ռոճկօք որպէս էինն :” Դ. 74. Tum Artasires Armeniae terram egregiè ornavit, atque in antiquum statum restituit. Arsacidas ab regno et domicilio Araratensi pulsos, in eundem locum reduxit, et eadem eis, quae priùs habuerant, stipendia statuit.” *Lib. II. Cap. LXXIV.*

Of the Satraps of Armenia.

History also tells us, that there were specific laws extant for the guidance of the Satraps of Armenia. Faustus of Byzantium, who wrote an Armenian history in the fourth century, alludes to the existence of certain laws, which seem to have obtained in Armenia only during the reign of Khosrow the Little. “Posterior to this,” says Faustus, “the Persians were incessant in waging wars with the king Khosrow. Laws were, in consequence, enacted by the king for the guidance of the Armenian satraps, grandees, chiefs, and lords, whose number was very considerable, and on whom it was made obligatory to remain near to their royal master, and none of them were permitted to accompany the expedition against the king of Persia. This measure was adopted by Khosrow, from a want of confidence in the sincerity of the attachment of the nobles of his court. The terror of the disloyalty of Databi had seized upon his mind, and he apprehended the occurrence of a similar event in his own country.” *Faustus. Lib. III. Cap. VIII.*

Laws enacted during the reign of the Bagratidæ.

Of the laws enacted during the days of the Bagratian kings, no record has been preserved in the annals of the Armenian historians. But, from ancient Armenian manuscripts, found at Lemberg or Leopoldis, a city in Poland, it is ascertained that the Armenians, who emigrated in the eleventh century from the thickly populated city of Ani,* and other provinces of Armenia to that part of Europe, had carried with them the code of laws by which they were guided in their own

* Ani was a most magnificent and populous city in Armenia towards the close of the tenth century, and contained one thousand and one churches ! See my History of Armenia, vol. II. p. 92. It is nothing now, but a heap of ruins.

country. This code of laws was translated into Latin in the year 1548, by order of Sigismund the First, king of Poland. It is greatly to be regretted that not a single copy of this Latin translation of the Armenian code of laws has made its way to British India. It is, however, consolatory to learn, that this translation is to this day preserved in the library of the Armenian College at Venice. Sigismund writes thus in the preface to that code of laws: "Although we have to this day sheltered and protected the Polish Armenians, our subjects, under their own Armenian privileges and laws, by which our predecessors had acknowledged and governed them, but on the occurrence of dissensions and disputes between them and the citizens, it was thought necessary to have that law-book of theirs, which was written in the Armenian language, and which was only understood by themselves, translated by them into Latin, and presented to us in that form, so that every cause of suspicion and collusion should be removed, and that we should, by the help of the members of our council, make judicious inquiries into its contents, and, by a slight alteration, confirm the same." After writing thus far, he mentions the name of Johannes, the Bagratian king, and cites his mandate in the following manner: "Johannes, by the grace of God, king of Armenia, during the days of his auspicious reign enjoined, not to open courts of judicature on Sundays—not to borrow money—not to prefer claims against debtors; and made other similar enactments for the observance of Sundays." After this he adds: "It is enjoined by the Armenian king Theodosius, (perhaps Ashot,) of happy and blessed memory, and other orthodox Armenian kings and princes, to render justice and equity to all—to cities, towns, villages," *et hoc genus omne*. These quotations are corroborative of the existence of laws and law-books in Armenia, during the reign of the Bagratidæ.

Of the succession of Kings.

Although after the subversion of the kingdom of the Bagratidæ, we meet with a specimen of the law of succession in the commencement of the code of Mechithar Ghosh,* yet it is evident that this law was in

* Mechithar Ghosh flourished in Armenia towards the close of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Besides his code of laws, he is known to be the author of several other valuable works in the Armenian language. *Ghosh* is the cor-

force in Armenia during the reign of the Bagratian kings, with some slight variations. In the days of the Arsacidæ the crown devolved from son to son in a lineal succession; but the law of the Bagratidæ confers the right of succession upon brothers. There are also some other laws, of which I shall furnish the reader with an extract: "Although," says this legislator, "the crown by right devolves upon the first-born, yet the most eminent for his wisdom is to succeed to the throne. So long as the king's brothers survive him, his sons are debarred from a succession to the throne. But, on the extinction or demise of the brothers, then the crown devolves upon the king's sons. Should the king leave a daughter surviving him, she is to be invested with the title of nobility, and is, together with her husband, entitled to one-half of a share of a brother. And, on the demise of kings, if there be a son from the son, and a son from the daughter, the son's son is to succeed to the throne, but not the daughter's. And so long as there may be descendants of the son, the daughter's children are debarred from succession, at which any attempt made by the latter is unlawful and unjust. For, it was in this manner that our king Abgarus enacted laws for the succession to the throne of Persia. And the patriarch Noah apportioned to the sons and the daughter, the regions of the southward, as women also rule over those parts."—Then the legislator describes the manner in which the succession is to descend when there be only a daughter, but no son surviving the king. Or, if there be no heir to the king, then the right of succession devolves on his kinsmen, one of whom only is to reside at the royal palace near the king, and the rest are to be domiciled at a distance, according to the custom prevalent among the former kings of Armenia. All this is written by Mechithar Ghosh, in the commencement of the second chapter of his code of laws. By the last quotation, the legislator means to allude to that usage of the kings of the Arsacidæ, of which mention was made above. The law of succession was not, however, kept inviolate during the reign of the Bagratidæ, among whom there were

ruption of the Persian word *خمار* corresponding with *քար* or *քար* or vulgò *քար* in Armenian. This appellative cognomen was added to the Christian name of the Armenian legislator, in consequence of his having very little or no beard. By this distinguishing appellation he is invariably mentioned throughout the works of his cotemporaneous writers, and in the page of our national history.

found some pretenders and upstarts, who created disturbances by disputing the right of succession. The collision of Atshot with his brother Johannes, is a remarkable instance of this dispute.* But, during the reign of the Arsacidæ, the whole of the royal descendants, with the exception of Sánátrúk, adhered to this law of succession.

Some other items of the Laws of the Bagratida.

Taxes are alluded to in the second chapter of the code of Mechithar Ghosh, who treats of the royal courts of judicature, and of those subordinate thereto: "Kings and princes," says this legislator, "ought justly to impose taxes on lands and nations, and not to exact more than what is tolerated or allowed by immemorial usages. They will have to render an account of their stewardship to the great God. They were appointed for the preservation and welfare of the country, but not to entail ruin and misery upon the people placed under their government. The imposition of taxes ought to be in the following manner: one-fifth of the produce of cultivated lands is to be given to the state. Lands, gardens, and orchards, purchased by the people, are not to be subjected to this tribute. Watermills and houses are in like manner to enjoy this exemption. The inhabitants are to be taxed for the trade in which they are respectively engaged, and the commodities which they offer for sale. Christians are considered exempt from a poll tax, which is only to be imposed upon unbelievers. Irrigated lands are subjected to a tribute of one-fifth of their produce, and affranchised or quit lands are subject to the payment of tithes. Because the right of kings and princes extends only to earth, but not to water, affranchised lands, orchards, and gardens, are also exempt from taxation. In like manner, of the seven days in the week, one is to be devoted to the royal service. To demand from labourers more than this, is a great injustice. No specific tax is to be imposed upon oxen, besides that of one-fifth alluded to above. A pound of butter is only to be levied upon each cow. Pasture-grounds are exempt from the tax which is imposed upon cattle that graze therein. The sheep are to be tithed in their lambkins, which can be exchanged with the sheep *ad libitum*. Horses, mules, and asses, are not to be taxed, because by the

* Vide my History of Armenia, vol. II. p. 109.

help of these animals essential services are rendered to the government of the country."

From the same chapter of the code of Mechithar Ghosh, we shall quote what relates to the administration and law of precedence of the ancients. "It is unjust in princes to impose a tax upon believers, because the unbelievers are alone to be taxed. It is proper to exact tribute from the latter, but not from the former, as it is done by the Georgians to those placed under their subjection. When a tract of land is granted by the crown to an Armenian nobleman,—if a fort be raised on it by the latter in accordance with the royal consent, or if a village be constructed thereon, or if ruined buildings be repaired thereon,—then, and in that case, the same tract of land is to devolve on him and his heirs in perpetuity. The land so granted is by no means to be alienated from him without a very serious and heinous offence. And, after the death of the person or persons on whom that land is conferred, the gift is to devolve on his, her, or their, descendants by order of the king. In like manner, nobles are to be next to princes, according to the seniority or priority of the latter, and citizens and peasants ought to be subordinate to nobles.—Forests cleared, and ruined places repaired or rebuilt, are to be the undisputed and inalienable property of the enterprising persons at whose expense the works were performed, and are to devolve on their children in perpetuity after their death. On the construction of a city or fort, should there be a deficiency of money in the public treasury, it is incumbent on the people to render their general support towards the completion of the building. Citizens are to enjoy the honor of precedence to villagers, and inhabitants of villages should precede in rank the farmers and husbandmen. This law of precedence is, in like manner, to obtain among the denizens of forts and villages. These have been the usual and invariable practices among the ancient kings of Armenia." The concluding portion of this quotation alludes to the usages prevalent in our country during the reign of Valarsaces, as stated above.

Courts of Judicature, and Codes of Laws in Armenia.

In our national history mention is made of the institution of courts of judicature by Valarsaces, during the days of the Arsacidæ, as it appears from the testimony of Moses of Chorene, while speaking of the

public acts of this monarch. “**Իրաւարարս ՚ի տան արքունի, իրաւարարս ՚ի քաղաքս և յաւանս :** Թ. 7: “*Judices in aulâ regiâ, judices in oppidis villisque statuit.*” *Lib. II. Cap. VII.* Where there are judges, there must of necessity be courts of judicature, in which judges and arbiters hear causes, and administer justice by the employment of officers and subordinates, without whom judicial affairs cannot be properly managed and conducted. But, that there were actually courts of judicature in existence in Armenia, we have conclusive and satisfactory evidence in the work of that ancient historian. **Գիւղից և գաւառաց, ևս և իւրաքանչիւր տանց առանձնականութեց, և հանուրց հակառակութեանց և դաշանց, այժմ առ մեզ գտանին անբաղդուցաց մատենք, մանաւանդ որ ՚ի սեպհական ազատութեն (նախարարութեն) պայազատուի :** Խ. 2: “*Quibus adhuc devicis at provinciis, atque etiam rebus sigillatim domesticis, publicisque controversiis, ac fœderibus, scripta extant apud nos innumera historiarum volumina, ac præcipuè dum successio mansit libera.*” *Lib. I. Cap. II.* It is evident that such codes of laws and instruments regarding which disputes and differences might have naturally arisen, by the lapse of several years, among heirs, coheirs, and legatees, were carefully kept in courts of judicature, conformably to the order of the government of the country. This has been the common and invariable practice of civilized nations, in all ages and in all countries.

We have also incontrovertible proofs of the existence of law-books in Armenia during the reign of the Bagratidæ, in the Latin translation of the code compiled and prepared under the auspices of the Armenian king, Johannes the Bagratian, of which mention was made above. The classification of the chapters of this code is preceded by this sentence :—“ The Armenian kings lay down this model of justice for the guidance of their judges.”—Then follow, in separate chapters, laws respecting the adjustment of disputes arising from wills—laws enacted for the settlement of differences among married parties—and laws intended for the correction of offenders and the punishment of criminals.

In the face of all these evidences, one cannot but be greatly astonished in reading the introduction to the code of Mechithar Ghosh, where-

in he frequently alludes to a total absence of laws and law-books among the Armenians, and to the consequent necessity of his collecting data, and embodying them in the form of a code of laws! In the second chapter of his law-book, the heading of which is, "Why were we disposed to compile this book, or what incentives induced us to resolve on framing this code?" Mechithar Ghosh furnishes the reader with a statement of his reasons for so doing, of which the following is an extract:—"That we have often been accused not only by unbelievers, but by Christians also, of a total absence of law-books, based upon the principles of evangelical laws. That lest, from the non-existence of a written law, the Armenians should apply or appeal to unbelievers for justice. That many, on various occasions, ignorantly distort the true meaning of laws, and it is for their information and correction that we were induced to compose this code of laws. Not content with this alone, we caused this code to be placed in courts of judicature, as a record intended for occasional and necessary reference. That being destitute of written laws, our predecessors were unable to make references, but, on the removal of this want, we shall now avail ourselves of this record, and be able to afford a proof to unbelievers of the existence of written laws amongst us, by which they will be silenced, and obliged to desist from heaping on us accusations for the apparent want of a code. We were for a very considerable time subjected to the keenest reproaches of our countrymen and strangers for the absence of a law-book, and their censures proved as a spur to us in undertaking the preparation of a code of laws....I was also seized with astonishment at the apathetic indifference displayed by our ancestors in not supplying this desideratum."

These remarks were written by Mechithar Ghosh, towards the close of the twelfth century, at which period, as stated above, he flourished in Armenia in the character of an Armenian lawgiver, and erudite author. But, as the numerous Armenian families that first quitted Armenia emigrated to Poland in the middle of the eleventh century, it is very probable that these emigrants carried with them their own law-book, which it was impossible for Mechithar Ghosh to meet with in Armenia. The Armenian colonists in Poland being in possession of a law-book of their own, were guided by it in all their civil and judicial affairs, as stated above. Yet, upon all this, considering the laws al-

luded to by him, relative to the prerogatives of kings and the rights of princes, we are led to conclude that Mechithar Ghosh was at least possessed of some fragments of the laws of the kings of the ancient Bagratidæ and Arsacidæ, otherwise he would have candidly declared that the code was entirely his own production. This carries with it its own improbability. And it is not injudicious to adopt this conclusion from the perusal of the second chapter of the prefatory observations of his law-book, in which he says:—"This string of laws will perhaps be considered an object of ridicule by those in whose hands it may chance to fall! They will assimilate us in their mind's eye to those who, in a fit of delusion, dream of kingdoms and of royal splendour and glory; but no sooner they are awakened from their illusive and enchanting dreams, than they see nothing but the mere shadow of what their heated imagination had portrayed in glowing colours! But, let them remember that I am not ignorant of the vanity and transitoriness of all earthly kingdoms! Of this we have a most singular and striking proof in the rise, progress, and annihilation of our own kingdom. The past has vanished for ever—the present is a mere tantalising nonentity—the future I can scarcely hope to see! Yet, these distressing circumstances and melancholy reflections will not be permitted to cool my ardor in prosecuting the task of framing a complete code of laws, conformable to the wants and present state of the nation, from the conviction, that the utility of my production will be generally acknowledged and duly appreciated. In attempting to publish and promulgate this work, I must crave the kind indulgence of unbiassed observers; and, in so doing, I stand fully prepared to be visited with the censures of hasty and fastidious critics, for such errors and imperfections as may be found in this production of mine. Yet I still entertain a hope, that they will consider me worthy of credit for good intentions, though they may not be disposed to extend to me their pardon for the defects of my work." From these observations of Mechithar Ghosh it is to be inferred, that the laws contained in his book were not *bonâ fide* his sole production, but a compilation from those framed by ancient Armenian law-givers. In preparing this article on the laws and law-books of the Armenians, I have availed myself of Inchichian's "*Antiquities of Armenia*," a work published at Venice in 1835, and replete with deep research and

most valuable information. If the Mechitharistic Society* of Venice be disposed to publish a correct edition of the code of Mechithar Ghosh, and of the book of laws prepared under the auspices of the Armenian king, Johannes the Bagratian,—authentic copies of which are preserved in the extensive library of that learned body,—they will certainly confer a very heavy obligation on their countrymen generally, but more particularly on the Armenians located within the pale of the government of British India. An approved and unexceptionable edition of these two statute-books of the Armenians, cannot but be most servicable to the judges of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, who will be entirely guided by them as by an unerring criterion in their decisions on causes and questions arising from hereditary gifts and testamentary bequests of the Armenians residing under the jurisdiction of the Mofussil courts. But in the absence of printed Armenian law-books, questions of succession to property, in cases in which the litigants were known to be Armenians, have been invariably referred in writing by the judges of the Company's courts to such of the Armenian bishops as happened to sojourn or itinerate in this part of British India, during the period of their triennial or septennial episcopal visitation, which they performed in accordance with the written and acknowledged authority with which they were respectively invested by the pontificate of Etchmiatchin,† near Erevan, in the province of Ararat, the archbishoprick‡ of Julpha in Ispahan, and the patriarchate of Jerusalem,§

* This veteran Society was established in the year 1717, and its members have been pre-eminently successful in the revival and cultivation of the classical literature of Armenia, by the publication of numerous philosophical, philological, and scientific works of sterling merit. The members of this Society lead a strictly monastic life. The following lines are extracted from the life of its zealous and patriotic founder :—

“ Մենաստանս այս ըստ բողոքին
Ընեալ եղև 'ի փառս Փրկչին,
Թաքայու թեան Սերաստացւոյ
Մեծթաքայ Վարդապետին : ”

“ Fuit hoc monasterium totum tempore Mechithar Petri ex Sebaste I. Abbatis extractum. A. D. 1740.”

† 'Ի կաթողիկոսարանէն ներս Էջմիածնի :

‡ Թառաշնորդարանէն Զուղայու :

§ 'Ի Պատրիարքարանէն Երուսաղէմի :

to which each or any of them individually belonged. Sometimes, in the absence of Armenian bishops, the officiating Clergy attached to the Armenian church of Calcutta have also been consulted on questions of inheritance, or testamentary bequests. The exposition of the Armenian law or usage, furnished by these episcopal and clerical dignitaries of the Armenian church, in accordance with the specific queries put to them, has, almost in all instances, guided the judges of the Company's courts, either in determining similar questions pending *sub judice*, or in pronouncing their decisions in cases of the above mentioned description. The Company's courts, so far as my information extends, pursue the practice sanctioned by the precedents alluded to above.

In connection with the subject of Armenian laws and law-books, I think it necessary to add, that in June 1838, I was requested by my highly esteemed and deeply lamented friend, Mr. James Prinsep, to pass my opinion on a certain Armenian code of laws in manuscript, which accompanied his letter, for my perusal and consideration. I cheerfully undertook the task intrusted to me, and instantly put him in possession of my opinion in a letter, of which the following is a copy :—

TO JAMES PRINSEP, ESQ.

MY DEAR MR. PRINSEP,

I have received your note of yesterday's date, together with a manuscript volume in the Armenian language, and hasten to put you in possession of my candid opinion on the same.

The book in question is a code of laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, written or transcribed in the Haican era 1135, corresponding with the year of our Lord 1686, partly by a priest named Alexianus, and partly by a bishop named Jacob, native of Ghrim, and pupil of another bishop named George, of the see of Ezinka. The transcription thereof was made at the desire of another bishop named Thomas, and inscribed to Stephanus, the supreme patriarch of the Aluans. The work is based on Mosaic laws, and the materials of which it is composed are derived from the Old and New Testaments, and from other ancient records.

Mechithar Ghosh, who flourished in Armenia between the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, and who is eminently distinguished in the page of our national history for his unrivalled attainments, is known to have been the author or

originator of a code of Armenian laws, which was then generally used in the courts of judicature of our country. History also tells us that another code of laws was in existence in Armenia, so far back as the year of Christ 1046, written or prepared under the auspices of the Armenian king, Johannes Bagratian. The latter has been in general use among the numerous Armenian population of Poland, where a transcript of it is preserved, with a Latin translation; but the text or original work is not to be found. As neither of these law-books has found its way to India, I am unable to say whether the volume you have sent me is a transcript of the one or the other, for the name of the author or legislator has unfortunately not been inserted therein. I am, however, inclined to think it to be a compilation from both, but cannot take it upon myself to say, whether it is one of established legal reputation in Armenia. It is greatly to be regretted that the code of Mechithar Ghosh has never been printed or published to this day. This, under existing circumstances, is certainly a very serious evil to the Armenians living under the jurisdiction of our Zillah courts.

The following is a translation of a portion of the Chapter on Inheritance :—

“ Chapter CIV.—Of the division of Property.

“ Conformably to the rule of division, property must be equally divided in the following manner: that is to say, the whole of the property to be considered as one drachma, and the drachma as six oboli. If there be a son and a daughter in the family, the property must be thus divided: that is to say, two and a half oboli to the brother, two and a half oboli to the sister, and one obolus to the mother. But, if there be two sisters, and both of them married, the two sisters are to be looked upon in the light of one brother. Two and a half oboli to be given to the brother, two and a half oboli to the two sisters, and one obolus to the mother.”

From this it will appear, that the wife or mother is entitled to one-sixth of the property bequeathed by the father or husband. This custom or usage, so far as my information extends, does to this day obtain among the Armenians residing in the various parts of Persia and Turkey. It is difficult for me to ascertain whether the Armenians living under the rule of Russia,* are equally guided or influenced by this usage.

* A code of laws, bearing the affix of the imperial *fiat*, was concocted and published in 1836, for the guidance of the Armenians living in Ararat, one of the provinces of Armenia which is now under the sway of Russia. A copy of this code of

Herewith I return you the manuscript volume, with the contents of which I have already been made acquainted, by the kindness of its former owner.* Another copy of this work, though not so elegantly written, was in the possession of one† of the Armenian priests of Calcutta; but in consequence of his death, it was, together with his other books, sent to his son at Ispahan in January last. Should you require an English translation of any other portion of the work, I shall feel most happy to furnish you with it.‡

Believe me to be,

CALCUTTA,

Your's very truly,

26th June, 1838.

JOHANNES AYDALL.

laws in manuscript having been sent to me from Madras, I instantly put it into the press, and published a sufficient number of copies thereof for the numerous Armenians living in different parts of British India. The contents of this code are, however, inapplicable and scarcely of any use or benefit to my expatriated countrymen, scattered throughout this portion of the globe. Driven as we are from our country by Moslem despotism and unrelenting persecution—bereft as we are of our national glory and independence—wandering as we are on the surface of the globe like the scattered children of Israel, but partially domiciled here, under the fostering and paternal care of the British Government, I trust I shall not be taxed with presumption in expressing a wish, that a string of laws, well adapted and suited to the circumstances and general condition of the Armenians settled in this country, framed and concocted by the wisdom of the Legislative Council, be passed and promulgated by the Supreme Government of British India, with the view of promoting and securing the welfare of the children of their adoption. In asking this boon, I rest assured that it will be conceded to us by the illustrious and philanthropic head of our government.

* The former owner of this law-book was the late Right Rev. Hárúthéun Várdápiet Մարգարե Բարձր Թիւն Վարդապետ of the fraternity of the Armenian Convent of Julpha in Ispahan. In the year 1824, while residing at Sydadad with his brother, the late patriotic Manásácán Vardon, the Rev. gentleman was applied to in writing by Mr. G. C. Master, first judge of the Provincial Court for the division of Dacca, to state his opinion on a certain question of inheritance, arising from the will of a certain opulent Armenian inhabitant of that place. In complying with Mr. Master's request, this dignitary of the Armenian church availed himself of the contents of this very law-book. His opinion on the subject is justly and appropriately prefaced by these words—"All laws of justice, either civil or ecclesiastical, in all Christian nations, have their origin from the Holy Scriptures." The judges, I am credibly informed, were guided by his opinion in pronouncing their decisions. Hence, it is evident, that the book in question was considered by the judges as a sufficient authority. On the death of Hárúthéun Várdápiet, the book alluded to became the property of his brother, Mr. Manásácán Vardon, on whose demise it devolved on his eldest son, and is now in the possession of his youngest son, Mr. S. M. Vardon.

† The late Rev. Ter Marcar Ter Carapiet, Հանգուցեալ Մարգարե Տր Կարապետեան formerly vicar of the Armenian church of Calcutta, of happy and blessed memory.

‡ The utility of piecemeal extracts from these manuscript Armenian law-books, will be temporary and confined to a few only. As several of the Armenian residents in the Mofussil, have a large and extensive property in lands and talúks, would it not be advisable for them to adopt measures for printing at the Armenian press in Venice the code of Mechithar Ghosh, and the law-book of the Armenian king, Johannes Bagratian? Let them come forward and supply the *sine quá non*, and the long-desired object will be speedily and satisfactorily consummated.

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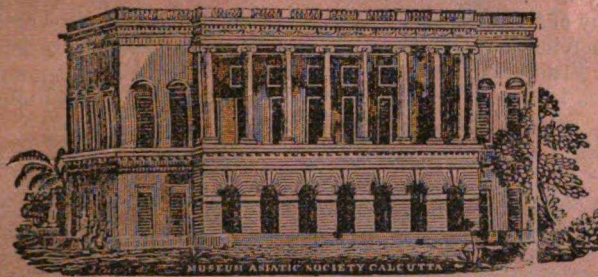
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Note on the Chandel Rájás of Mahoba.

In the second canto of the poem the descent of Parmál the last Chandel king of Mahoba is traced up to Hemavati through 20 generations, which was the number specified in the prophecy. The line stands as follows: 1. Hemavati and the moon god; 2. Chandra-brahma. He founds Kalinjar and Khajinpur with 85 temples and 101 lakes: marries Chandrávali; settles at Mahoba; 3. Bár-brahma: he builds Bárigarh; 4. Pár-brahma; 5. Rúp-chandra-brahma; 6. Braj-brahma; 7. Rúp-bel-brahma 8. Mán-brahma; 9. Jag-brahma; 10. Gyán-brahma; 11. Suján-brahma; 12. Jay-satyan-brahma; 13. Jag-jat-brahma; 14. Kíl-brahma; 15. Súraj-brahma; 16. Janrúp-brahma; 17. Ráhil-brahma. He invades Ceylon, founds Rásin, marries Rájmati; 18. Madan-brahma; 19. Kírat-brahma; 20. Parmál. Being ashamed of his origin, he drops the affix Brahma and in consequence loses his ráj.

Mainpuri, October 17th, 1868.

Authors of Armenian Grammars, from the earliest stages of Armenian literature up to the present day.—By JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq., M. A. S.

[Received 30th July, 1868.]

A brief sketch of the rise and progress of Armenian literature will, it is hoped, not be deemed altogether uninteresting. Agathangelus was the first who wrote a history of the life and exploits of the Armenian king Tiridates, towards the close of the third century of the Christian era. He was of Greek extraction, and well acquainted with the Armenian language. Before that period, it cannot be said that the Armenians had a literature of their own. Some popular and rural songs were extant, commemorative of heroes and heroic achievements. At this period, there was no Armenian alphabet. Consequently the Armenians used the Greek, Pelhevic and Syriac characters. The Armenian alphabet was invented in the beginning of the fourth century by the intelligence and efforts of St. Mesrop. Although some odd and uncouth letters were in existence, bearing the name of

their inventor Daniel, they were altogether incomplete, and all the vowels were wanting. The invention or perfection of the Armenian alphabet was soon followed by the establishment of schools, the formation of literary and scientific societies, the translation of the holy scriptures into Armenian from the original Greek and Syriac, and by the production of original works, such as history, biography, grammar, theology, geography, &c. During these days the Armenians generally used the grammar of Dionysius of Thrace, which was originally written in Greek and translated into Armenian by David, surnamed the invincible philosopher. The Armenian grammar has only two numbers, singular and plural, but David attempted to introduce into it the dual number, in imitation of the Greek. The idiom of the Armenian language, however, did not admit of this extraordinary innovation.

Subsequent to this, the grammar of Moses Քհրեմա the Armenian was prepared and introduced into all the Armenian schools, which was, in the course of a short time, generally studied, and became a popular class-book. Moses Khorenensis Մովսէս Խորենացի is supposed by contemporary historians to be the author of this grammar.

Gregorius Magistratus, who flourished in the eleventh century, compiled another grammar from those that were already extant. This was also introduced into the schools of that period.

Johannes of Ezinka, of the thirteenth century, wrote a new grammar by the help of a dictionary compiled by Dr. Aristakes. In this new work, the author has compiled and mentioned all that was worthy of note and useful from the preceding grammars. Gregor Tathevensis Տաթևացի of the thirteenth century, produced a commentary on the grammar of Aristakes and his coadjutor George.

Jacob of Ghrim Յակոբ գրիմացի is the author of a grammar, in which he has taken a great deal of pains in dilating upon punctuation and accentuation. A grammar is also extant without date, supposed to be a compilation by the Սարգսաք Deacon Johannes. In like manner, another grammar is in existence, the authorship of which is ascribed to Priest Cachatúr. The foregoing are the authors of Armenian grammars, who flourished in Armenia prior to the four-

teenth century. I shall now proceed to give a concise account of those who followed them in the subsequent centuries.

Among Europeans, Franciscus Rivola of Milan, composed an Armenian and Latin grammar, which was printed in 1624. Being himself a foreigner, he seems to have taken a great deal of pains in preparing his book, which is not, however, without errors.

Another grammar was compiled in Armenian and Latin by Clement Galanus, which was printed in Rome in 1645. It is more comprehensive, and less abounds with inaccuracies than that of Rivola. A treatise on Logic is also appended to this work.

Doctor Voscan Ուկան Վարդապետ published an abridgment of Armenian grammar in Amsterdam in 1666.

An epitome of Armenian grammar, under the name of S'imon, native of Julpha, was printed in Constantinople in 1725. Johannes Jacob the Priest, surnamed ՀԻԼԸ Declension, wrote an Armenian grammar in Latin, for the use of European students, which was published in Rome in 1675. Cachatür Vertabed of Erzerum, published an Armenian grammar in Aligornia in 1696.

Johannes Vertabed of Julpha, compiled a short grammar, accompanied by a treatise on Logic, which was printed in Amsterdam in 1711.

Johannes Joachim Schroder, a native of Holland, studied the Armenian language with unceasing application, and the greatest avidity by bishop Thomas of Gokhten and his nephew Lucas. He published an Armenian grammar with Latin exposition at Amsterdam in 1711, under the title of Մասերան Լեզուի Գանձ "THESAURUS LINGUÆ ARMENICÆ ANTIQUÆ ET HODIERNÆ," with a copious vocabulary and entertaining Dialogues in modern Armenian. Being an excellent oriental scholar, he was competent to criticise the grammatical works of his predecessors, and to note their inaccuracies and defects.

Jacobus Villotte, from the Society of Jesus, published in 1714 at Rome, a Latin and Armenian Dictionary with an elementary grammar. He was, for several years, a Jesuit Missionary among the Armenians. The great bulk of his book is a proof of the vast amount of labour he has bestowed on its preparation and completion.

Subsequently a more enlarged and improved grammar was published by Mechithar, the founder of the Mechitharistic Society in Venice in the year 1730.

Deacon Balthasar published an Armenian grammar at Constantinople in 1736.

During the close of the eighteenth century, when the cultivation of Armenian literature was appreciated far and wide, not only among the Armenians themselves, but also by several learned European orientalists, Father Michael Chamich's grammar was published in the year 1779, which was hailed with the greatest avidity and enthusiasm by the Armenian literati as the most complete work of its kind. It was introduced into all the schools, superseding the use of all the other grammars previously published.

In 1815 another grammar appeared, by Gabriel Avietick, member of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice. Although its first part is written in the modern or vernacular Armenian, the another has taken a great deal of pains to throw more light on the ancient literature of Armenia by a careful reference to rare manuscripts of antiquity, which have been discovered, subsequent to the publication of Father Chamich's grammar.

Jacob Shahan Cirbied published his Armenian grammar in Paris in the year 1823, under the title, "*Grammaire de la langue Arménienne.*" Its publication elicited a violent correspondence between the author and his critics.

In 1826 Ter Arratoon Ter Mesrop published an Armenian grammar in Constantinople nearly in imitation of Chamich, for the use of Armenian schools of that city.

Father Paschal Aucher, of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice published an Armenian and English grammar and *vice versâ*, in Venice in 1819 and 1832, by the assistance of Lord Byron and of John Brand, Esq., A. M. of the University of Cambridge, with copious selections from the best Armenian authors in chronological order. Doctor Michael Salanth, of the Armenian College of Moscow, published in 1827, a comprehensive grammar in two volumes. The publication of this work met with a most favorable reception from the Armenian literati of Russia. The author, however, is severely critical on the slight inaccuracies of Father Michael Chamich.

In 1847, appeared another grammar, short, simple, plain and easy, from the pen of Mackertich Emin, Esq., formerly of Calcutta but now Principal of the Imperial College of Oriental Languages in Moscow.

A brief Armenian and Latin grammar was published in Berlin in 1841 by that eminent orientalist and accomplished Armenian scholar, Jul. Henr. Petermann. It is accompanied with a copious glossary, which does no small credit both to the head and heart of the distinguished author. He is now in the Holy Land, as Prussian Consul General. His efforts, in search of scriptural antiquities and rare ancient Armenian manuscripts will, it is hoped, be crowned with success.

In the year 1830, an Armenian grammar was published in Calcutta, with notes and copious English glossary, by the author of the present article, chiefly intended for youths educated in India.

In the year 1844, appeared the Polyglott grammar, in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Tartar languages, with copious critical and philological notes, Par Le P. Minas Mélici. It is highly prized by orientalist and learned Societies of Europe.

A full and comprehensive grammar was published in Venice in 1852, by Doctor Arsen Comitas Bagratuni, the oldest and most eminent member of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice, abounding in philosophical commentaries and philological observations. It is more intended for the advanced student, than as a class-book for schools. The author was deservedly distinguished for the profundity of his erudition. He was one of the brightest luminaries that ever shone in the horizon of Armenian literature. He died in the year 1866, at the advanced age of 77 years, but his works will perpetuate his name to prosperity among his countrymen.

Rev. A. Kurken, M. M., of the Mechitharistic Society of Venice published in 1853, an English and Armenian grammar, with copious examples from English authors. This work is considered very useful for beginners. In conclusion, I also think it necessary to add, that since the year 1840, up to the present day, a great variety of elementary grammars have been published by the indefatigable members of the Mechitharistic Societies of Venice and Vienna, in Armenian and French, Armenian and German, Armenian and Latin, Armenian and Italian, and Armenian and Russian languages, which will greatly tend to facilitate the study of the Armenian language by European scholars.

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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease."

SIR WM. JONES.

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A Covenant of 'Alí, fourth Caliph of Baghdád, granting certain Immunities and Privileges to the Armenian nation.—BY JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq., M. A. S.

[Received 23rd September, 1869.]

An authentic historical document is extant, originally written in Cufic characters, and purporting to be an Edict or Covenant of 'Alí, the Lion of God, fourth Caliph of Baghdád, and son-in-law of the Prophet, bestowing certain immunities and privileges on the Armenian nation. The Edict was given in the year of the Hijrah 40, or A. D. 660, just a year before 'Alí's death. It was first translated into Armenian by Gregor Campan, on the 15th January 1767, in Astrachan, and afterwards by M. Saragian, authenticated by Joakim Gregor Bagratuni of Constantinople in the year 1804.

I was in possession of a copy of the original document, written in Cufic characters, which I lent some years ago to the late Henry Torrens, Esq., Vice-President of the Asiatic Society, for translation and insertion in the Journal. It appears that this rare piece of antiquity was lost or mislaid among his unpublished papers. The following is a correct and faithful version from the Armenian translation of the Edict or Covenant of the Caliph 'Alí.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE BENEFICENT AND THE MERCIFUL FROM
WHOM WE SOLICIT HELP.

“Praise and thanksgiving to the Creator of the universe, and blessings upon the great chief and benign Muhammad and his sacred tribe.

“After all this, it is the purport of the translation of the Covenant, which was written by Háshim, the son of Athap,* the son of Valas,* according to the command of the blessed chief of the Arabians, and of the Lion of God, of the holy of the holies, of 'Alí, the grandson of Abú'tálíb, the exalted, in Cufic character, in the celebrated domicile of Kharanthala,* in the magnificent palace, in the month of Qáfar, in the fortieth year of Hijrah.†

“Whereas certain of the Armenian nation, men of distinction, famous for their erudition and honoured for their dignity, namely, Jacob

* So in the Armenian text. For *Háshim* the Armenian has *Hásham*, according to the Persian pronunciation of all Arabic Part. Present.

† June, July, 660.

Sayyid 'Abdul-Shuyúkh, and the son of Sahan, and Abraham the Priest, Bishop Isaiah, and several others, forty in number, having communicated with me, and being present in the enactment of this Covenant, solicited me to do this, and have rendered every assistance in their power to our agent whom we had sent to our forts and frontiers, (which was the occasion of our conference and the enactment of this Covenant)—Therefore I have made this Covenant with them on my behalf, as well as on behalf of all tribes of Islám, from east to west. To this end they are, in reality, fully under my fostering care and protection, as long as I live, and after my death, so long as the religion of Islám shall prevail, and the doctrine of Christianity shall continue. It shall be the duty of all potentates and of all princes, and of all men to carry out our Covenant by the help of God, so long as the sea shall be capable of wetting wool, tufts and briers, and rain shall descend from heaven, and grass shall grow from the earth, and stars shall give light, and the moon shall rise upon aliens and strangers. No man shall dare to violate or alter this my Covenant, nor increase and decrease or change the same, because he that increases it, increases his punishment, and decreases our patience.

“And those who violate this Covenant, shall be considered intriguing infringers of that which I have bestowed on them (the Armenians), and in league with those who do not profess loyalty to me. They also become transgressors against the divine ordinance, and thus incur the just indignation of the only God.

“Moreover, the testimony of the Sayyid (Arch) Bishop and of the others, whose names have been written above, is a binding and sufficient authority. Because the principal followers of Christianity requested me to establish a Covenant and a treaty among all the Christians, placed under the shadow of the rule of the Musalmáns, now, by virtue of this Covenant, there shall be perpetual peace and tranquillity between Christians and Musalmáns. The contents of this Covenant are indubitable and true, and I have given it to them (the Armenians) of my own accord and with a cheerful countenance. I shall abide by this Covenant and act accordingly, so long as the Armenians shall be faithful to me and continue in their loyalty to my government, and take no part in opposing the religion of my people.

If they remain steadfast in the observance of this Covenant, they shall resemble the Musalmáns and the *Múmins*.

“Moreover, I have convened together the grandees of the Musalmáns and the leading men of my elders and dignitaries, and in their presence have established my Covenant, which the Christian nation requested of me and desired to possess. I have written down and recorded for them conditions and stipulations, which are hereafter to stand firm and remain in force. Should, in future, any monarch or prince, or any person of rank and authority, oppress them and treat them with cruelty, they should produce and present this record of my Covenant, because it is incumbent on monarchs, and on all Musalmáns to act according to our behests; but the Armenians also, by acts of fidelity and loyalty, should comply with our mandates and obey our will, in conformity with the contents of the treaty which I have made and established with them. There shall be no disobedience or opposition to my commands and wishes. Moreover, it is politic and expedient, not to molest and oppress the Christians, so that by the adoption of a conciliatory course, they might be induced to comply with the stipulations contained in this my Covenant.

“This my Covenant is a burden and an obligation to its recipients, and wearisome and irksome to maliciously disposed and evil-minded persons, and I desire that there should be no contention between the Christians and my exalted nation. But if any one shall act against all that I have written concerning the Christians, who have proved themselves worthy of my favor and benevolence, such a person acts against the will of God, who inspired me with grace to do this act of goodness to that nation and to save them from troubles and vexations; for I have entered into a Covenant with them, because they requested and solicited it from me and from all my friends. I have thus given them a divine Covenant, a Covenant of patriarchs, of prophets and of all holy men from the first to the last. And the word of God to the holy prophets, which was brought down from heaven by the angel, enjoins obedience to the laws and performance of duties, and also faithfulness to this my divine Covenant. Because the Christians under my authority are my subjects, and I am ruler over them, it is my duty to have a paternal eye over them, and to protect them from all evils and

troubles; and thus a good reward shall be given in heaven both to me and to my nation which is scattered in different parts of the world.

“And the scale of taxation fixed by me for these nobles should be strictly adhered to. No demand should be made from them beyond what has already been written down and sanctioned. They should not be molested or oppressed. Their country should not be taken from them. They should not be alienated from their country. The priests should not be deprived of their holy calling. The Christians should not be converted from Christianity. The monks and hermits should not be disturbed in their solitudes, nor removed from their monasteries. Their preachers should not be prohibited to preach. Their habitations and their hereditary lands should not be devastated. Their property should not be meddled with when they build Churches. Nobody should remove or to pull down the bells from the steeples of their Churches. This is the law which I have made for them. But, those who shall infringe my Covenant, by disobeying my behests, shall be transgressors of the ordinance of God, and shall suffer severe punishments and eternal penalties.

“Let no crowned head or man of authority of the Musalmáns or believers, compel the Christians to profess the religion of Musalmáns. Nor let them hold any controversies with them on matters of religion, but let them treat them with kindness and tenderness; and, under the shadow of their mercy and clemency, protect them from all sorts of oppression and tribulations, wherever they may be found or wherever they may reside. And if the Christian people be in want of money or in need of pecuniary help for the building of Churches and monasteries, for their national and social assemblies, and for their civil and domestic purposes, the Musalmáns ought to assist them and supply them with the necessary means, by granting them a portion of their superabundant and disowned property. And this should be done not by granting them a loan, but by way of charity. They should also aid them by good advice and suggestions in their transactions, because doing so is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God and his apostle. But, if any one should infringe the contents of this my Covenant, he is an unbeliever and an apostate from the divine prophet, and he will assuredly be deprived of his merits, and the prophet shall look upon him with anger and

displeasure. If the stubborn and refractory shall prove themselves unfaithful and disobedient to the Covenant which I have established, they cannot remain faithful and obedient to the son of Abúťalib, the exalted. For, whatever he may command and ordain, it is the duty of Musalmáns to carry out his orders, by succouring and commiserating them (the Armenians) at all times, so long as this world shall last. Glory to the Creator of the universe !"

The tragical events of the last twelve centuries, recorded on the pages of the history of oriental nations, and in the ecclesiastical chronicles of eastern Christendom, sufficiently testify how far the contents of this Covenant of the pious and humane 'Alí, fourth Caliph of Baghdád, have been kept inviolate by his successors and his co-religionists.

